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PORCUPINE'S

WORKS;

CONTAINING VARIOUS

WRITINGS AND SELECTIONS,

EXHIBITING A FAITHFUL PICTURE

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA;

OF THEIR

GOVERNMENTS, LAWS, POLITICS, AND RESOURCES;

OF THE CHARACTERS OF THEIR

PRESIDENTS, GOVERNORS, LEGISLATORS, MAGISTRATES, AND MILITARY MEN:

AND OF THE

CUSTOMS, MANNERS, MORALS, RELIGION, VIRTUES, AND VICES

OF THE PEOPLE:

COMPRISING ALSO

A COMPLETE SERIES OF HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS AND REMARKS,

FROM THE END OF THE WAR, IN 1783,

TO THE

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT, IN MARCH, 1801.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

IN TWELVE VOLUMES, OCTAVO.

(*A Volume to be added Annually.*)

VOL. X.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR COBBETT AND MORGAN, AT THE CROWN AND MITRE, PALL-MALL.

MAY, 1801.

233. e. 185.

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SELEC-

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GAZETTE SELECTIONS.

JUDGE CHASE. *From a Baltimore Paper.*—Amongſt the many moſt ſcandalous and odious circumſtances of the *Hero of Mud Fort's* election was the threatened attack on JUDGE CHASE's houſe. The vile partizans of Smith had the inſolence to menace it with an attack. The Judge, I am told, ſent to inform the SHERIFF of it, who very cooly replied, that he was an "officer of the day, and not of the night." Some of JUDGE CHASE's friends went to his houſe, his lady and his females of the houſe left it, and every preparation was made by the gentlemen to give the infamous canaille a ſuitable reception.

Indelible diſgrace to the city and to the country: A JUDGE obliged to make his houſe a redoubt; to ſet up with arms in his hands, to defend his life againſt—againſt whom?—why, againſt the "*virtuous citizens*," the *voters*, the *conſtituents*, the *chooſers of lawgivers!*—and this, too, merely becauſe he had dared to exerciſe his right of ſpeaking and voting in common with them! So much for *univerſal ſuffrage*.*

It ſerves them right!!—A letter from Zurich, in Switzerland, dated June 10th, gives the following circumſtantial account of their carrying away of the

* While JUDGE CHASE was ſitting up, and paſſing the night in fear of his life, I ſhould be glad to know, if he reflected on the *cauſe* which had led to his danger—*his rebellion againſt his Sovereign?*

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treaſure of that town---" On the 5th of June, the French war commiſſary, Pommier, gave notice that Citizen Rapinat would come in the evening to in ſpect the treaſure, and that therefore the deputies of the chamber of adminiſtration might hold themſelves in readineſs. About ſix o'clock, Rapinat, Rochiere, and Pommier made their appearance with ſoldiers, and required the keys of the treaſury. Theſe were refuſed him, and ſecretary Metz haſtened to fetch the ſtadthalter, Pfenniger, and the preſident of the chamber of adminiſtration, Wyſs; both of whom came and proteſted againſt ſuch a proceeding.

" Rapinat then demanded the keys, ſaying, menacingly, "Voila les bayonettes: You ſee the bayonets." To which the ſtadhalter, Pfenniger, replied, " Had we as many bayonets as you, we would diſpute it with you. I ſhall immediately ſend an account of this proceeding to Arau." "You will?" ſaid Rapinat, " then do not forget to add, that we ſhall carry it away in four days time." He then broke off the ſeal and ranſacked the treaſury, which was yeſterday carried away in waggons by the French."

The American Editor, from whom I take this article, has entiled it: " *The poor Swiſs.*" I differ from him in opinion. No word of *pity* for theſe baſe and degenerate Canteens, will ever fall from my lips or my pen. I rejoice at their ruin. They were a canker worm in the heart of Europe, more dangerous to its government, than are the helliſh crew, who have now ſeized on their ill-gotten treaſure.——The ruler of the univerſe is always *juſt*. Men muſt be more than blind not to perceive, that Switzerland is *juſtly* puniſhed.

Virtuous Legiſlator !!!——In the Houſe of Repreſentatives of the ſtate of Vermont, on the 24th ult. Mr. Allis moved the following reſolution;

Reſolved, That Iſaac Clark, a member of this houſe, having been guilty of a high miſdemeanor [*concealing*

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[*concealing the votes in favor of the Federaliſts*] and breach of truſt, as one of the committee for receiving, ſorting, and counting the votes for governor, lieutenant governor, treaſurer, and counſellors, be expelled from this houſe.—Agreed to,

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This is another inſtance of the dangerous and diſgraceful effects of *univerſal ſuffrage*. The *reformers* in England, tell the people, that if once every man had a vote at elections for members of parliament, none but the moſt virtuous would get into that aſſembly; but, let them caſt their eyes on this ſide of the water, and ſee what *experience* has proved on the ſubject. Then, I fancy, they will hold their peace. They will ceaſe their abominable clamours, and be contented, while they are well.

From a New York Paper.

Extract of a Letter from an American in England, dated Sept. 1ſt, 1798.

'I re-echo what you relate of the politics of A-
'merica. Never was there a man like Waſhington,
'whom ſo many circumſtances have combined to
'raiſe above all the reſt of the world. He is almoſt
'worſhiped even in this country. His letter on ac-
'cepting his appointment, and the Preſident's an-
'ſwers to the addreſſes, have been printed in every
'paper. By calling forth the venerable and able
'founders and ſupporters of our liberty, our cauſe is
'rendered doubly intereſting. Thank Heaven, the
'friendſhip of our allies is expoſed, while the ſpirits
'of our firſt warriors animate us. WE AND ENG-
'LAND are the only nations who have *reaſonably*
'ſhewn a *proper contempt and deteſtation* of a govern-
'ment which ſubſiſts by plunder and fear.'

"WE AND ENGLAND!!!—Oh, my God!
"WE AND ENGLAND!!!" I can excuſe in-

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conſiſtency; I can ſee men turn to the right about without being aſtoniſhed; theſe things are what I have been accuſtomed to behold for months paſt. But "WE AND ENGLAND" thus made uſe of, is more than I can bear. It is notorious that WE, ſo far from joining with ENGLAND in ſhewing, *ſeaſonably*, a proper contempt and deteſtation of the French uſurpers; it is notorious that, ſo far from this, WE actually did commend and extol thoſe villains; that WE received an Ambaſſador from the murderers of the prince with whom our treaty of alliance was made; that WE rejoiced at all the ſucceſſes of their perfidy, and mourned over all their defeats and misfortunes; that WE curſed moſt bitterly all their enemies; and that every column of our raſcally newſpapers expreſſed an anxious deſire to behold the final deſtruction of that very ENGLAND, whoſe conduct this writer pretends was the ſame as our own! No, no; let us hear no more of "WE AND ENGLAND." Let every tub, as the old ſaying is, ſtand upon its own bottom. Let the poor deſpiſed and caſt-off mother-country do as well as ſhe can.

The Hero of Mud Fort.—The following article firſt caught my eye while I was in the country, where I had much more agreeable amuſement than that of detecting and expoſing the baſeneſs of a Baltimore Jacobin.

As owners of the ſhip Patapſco, we have great ſatisfaction in ſtating the following inſtance of Admiral Lord Duncan's polite attention to the veſſel and her cargo.

The ſhip Patapſco, Captain Hill, arrived at the port of Bergen, in Norway, on the 5th of July, with the intention of proceeding from thence to a port of Germany. Her ſupercargo, alarmed at the report of a war with France, and apprehenſive of being captured, communicated thoſe apprehenſions

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to our correſpondents in London, who, in reply, forwarded to him the letter from Lord Duncan, publiſhed herewith.

S. SMITH & BUCHANAN.

Baltimore, October 23, 1798.

Lord Duncan's Letter.

Yarmouth, Auguſt 2, 1798.

Sir,

Should you find the Patapſco, merchant ſhip, from Baltimore, in America, Captain Hill, in want of convoy to the coaſt of England, you will ſee him ſafe to any port on the eaſt part of England or Scotland, for which this ſhall be your order.

DUNCAN.

To the Captain or commanding officer of any of his Majeſty's ſhips or veſſels under Lord Duncan's command.

To Admiral Lord Duncan.

My Lord,

Having ſeen, in the public papers of this country, an order addreſſed by your lordſhip to the commanders of his Majeſty's veſſels under your command, requiring them to take under their protection the ſhip Patapſco, of Baltimore, I take the liberty to give your lordſhip ſome information reſpecting SAMUEL SMITH, one of the owners of the ſaid ſhip.

This Smith is, my lord, a member of the American Congreſs. In 1794, a motion was made in the Houſe to which he belongs to ſequeſtrate all debts due from *citizens* of America to *ſubjects* of Great Britain. Your lordſhip will pleaſe to lay a proper emphaſis

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emphaſis on the words *citizens* and *ſubjects*, and then read the following extract from SMITH's ſpeech in the debate, which cannot fail to give you a very correct idea of the *honeſty*, as well as the *friendſhip* of the man, whoſe property your lordſhip has been ſo anxious to protect.

'With the reſolutions now offered, I am of opin-
'ion we may yet have *peace*; but, without them, we
'ſhall certainly have war. They will arreſt *twenty*
'millions of dollars in our hands, as a fund to reim-
'burſe the *three* or *four* millions, which we have
'been ſtript of by that *piratical nation*, Great Britain,
'according to the inſtruction of that King of *ſea-*
'*robbers*, that *Leviathan* which aims at ſwallowing
'all that floats on the ocean; that *monſter* whoſe on-
'ly law is power, and who neither reſpects the
'rights of nations, nor the property of individuals.
'—This character the *nation* I have mentioned *has*
'*long deſerved*.'

In following the dictates of your generoſity (the characteriſtic of a true Briton) your lordſhip little imagined, that you were hovering under your wing the man who had ſtigmatized Great Britain as a *nation of pirates*. Your lordſhip little imagined, that you were ordering your gallant tars to watch and to toil for him, who had marked them as a gang of *ſea-robbers*, and that you were commanding the ſhips and veſſels of your Sovereign to leave their courſe, to take under their protection the property of a wretch, who had ſtyled him a *robber* and a *monſter*.

I am, My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble

And moſt obedient Servant.

P. PORCUPINE.

Philadelphia, 6th Nov. 1798.

Republican

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Republican Liberty.—Auguſta, October 20.—*October Term*, 1798. *The following are the preſentments of the Grand Jury of the county of Jefferſon.*—We preſent as a public nuiſance the Auguſta Southern Sentinel, and as *a public grievance*, the editor and printer thereof; for ſuffering to be inſerted therein, anonimous and ſcurrilous pieces againſt the chief magiſtrate of this ſtate: a man whoſe abilities on every occaſion have been honeſtly exerted for the benefit of his fellow citizens; whoſe ſervices have done honor to his country, and, on whoſe integrity and conduct, we have the moſt perfect reliance.—Moreover ſuch ſcurrilous publications appear to be intended to *take away the confidence of the people in the government of our country*; which, when avowed publications, much leſs anonimous ſcribblers, are permitted to do, it is no longer the liberty, but the licentiouſneſs of the preſs. And we conceive the ſaid printer to have been *tantalizing* the inhabitants of this country, and *inſulting the public in general*, when he *impreſſed the late legiſlature with an idea, that he meant to eſtabliſh a preſs in the town of Louiſville.*

So; here is a man *preſented* as a *public grievance*, and one of his heinous acts is, his having "*tantalized* the inhabitants of this country, and *inſulted the public in general!!*" And how did he thus *tantalize* and *inſult* them? Why, by "impreſſing the late legiſlature with an idea, that he meant to *eſtabliſh a* "*preſs in the town of Louiſville.*" *!!*—And this is *tantalizing* and *inſulting* the *public in general*; and on this vague, indefinite charge, and others like it, a man's *property* is preſented as a *nuiſance*, and his *perſon* as a *grievance*; and this is *Liberty!*—What *Liberty* will be by-and-by I know not. At preſent the word ſeems to be ſynonymous with *Slavery*.

The paper and the printer, *preſented* by the Auguſta Grand Jury, may for what I know, be bad anough; but

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but, let not the ſacred temple of juſtice be polluted in order to puniſh him. Nothing is ſo odious, as to ſee *Juries* become the voluntary inſtruments of oppreſſion. I would rather ſee a raſcal like Callender eſcape puniſhment, than ſee a *Jury* ſtrain a point but the breadth of a hair againſt him.

Barren Papers.—The Editor of the New-York Gazette ſays, that *the papers* are very *barren*, and will continue ſo; but that he hopes to ſee *an arrival* ſhortly. This modeſt gentleman ſhould have made an exception with reſpect to *his own paper*; for never did I ſee a ſheet ſo ſuperabundantly fertile in *advertiſements*, which, every one knows, is the *fruit* of a newſpaper. His paper of yeſterday, which is now before me, is covered with this ſort of fruit. There is only one column and a half of leaves to ſhelter the delicious load from the eyes of the longing reader; and yet this unconſionable fellow wants more *arrivals*; that is, more merchandize, and, of courſe, more *advertiſements*, more fruit. Brother LANGS's anxiety is on the wrong ſide. He ſeems to fear that his readers will die of a *famine*, whereas I think they are in much more danger from a *ſurfeit*.

Koſciuſko!—The following facts reſpecting this much admired inſurgent chief are well worthy the peruſal and the remembrance of every American. The article is taken from Mr. FENNO's paper of the 6th inſtant.

Amidſt the maſs of intelligence received by the recent arrivals from Europe, there are two or three articles, though of a trifling and perſonal nature, which have conſiderably raiſed my aſtoniſhment: I allude to thoſe which announce the appearance in Paris, of the famous Poliſh general; his ſentiments with regard to the American government and its adminiſtrators, and his extraordinary connections with the powers *that* be in France.

During

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During his late reſidence in America, he exhibited a picture which ſeemed more to call forcommiſeration, than to awaken ſuſpicion or apprehenſion. Mangled, weak and emaciated, he was confined to his room; enjoying of life no other pleaſure than what was adminiſtered by the friendly ſociety of thoſe, who, either through pity or curioſity, viſited him. Even in this confinement, however, he probably experienced the higheſt happineſs of which his pride was ſuſceptible, being politely attended by every diſtinguiſhed member of the federal government; by moſt of the ladies, as well as the gentlemen, of this city and New-York. This view of his ſituation contributed, no doubt, to accelerate the pecuniary grant which Congreſs, during that ſeſſion, made him in conſideration of his ſervices in our revolution.

Willing to contribute to all men the faireſt motives for their conduct, I, at that time, diſregarded the ſuſpicions which were often hinted at his intentions; believing that he had returned hither to enjoy in peace, the decaying remnant of a life glorioufly devoted to danger, in the cauſe of liberty. In this I was further confirmed, by frequently hearing him expreſs ſentiments of regard for the American government, and veneration for the illuſtrious characters who conducted it. Hence has proceeded my aſtoniſhment and indignation!—Hence I cannot poſſibly give credit to the articles above alluded to, without aſſigning to the conduct of the *illuſtrious general*, the odium of the foulеſt duplicity as well as the blackeſt ingratitude.—Painful as it is to concur in this ſentiment, there are many circumſtances which upon recollection, ariſe in confirmation of the diſgraceful charge. Theſe I ſhall freely communicate to my country, hoping thereby to furniſh a clue to the detection of thoſe, who ſecretly meditate, if not the overthrow, the diſgrace of the American government.

Amongſt

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Amongſt the moſt intimate and frequent viſitors of this *incognito* General, (for ſuch he may be termed) were the Hon. T. Jefferſon, Vice Preſident of the United States, the Hon. Maſon, Senator, Dr. Logan, Judge M'Kean, Thomas Mifflin, and thoſe members of both houſes of Congreſs who honorably diſtinguiſh themſelves in traducing the government of the United States, and in extolling the conduct of the immaculate Directory of France!! Logan, as is hinted in one of the articles referred to above, in going to France, did, no doubt, follow the advice of Koſciuſko; having had ſeveral long conferences with him, the few days previous to his departure. Jefferſon's connection with him was as ſingular, as I fear it will prove diſgraceful. The General had repeatedly given out, that he purpoſed viſiting Virginia, to take the benefit of the baths. On the night of the 4th of May, after a haſty viſit from the vice Preſident, his baggage was ordered to be packed up, and early next morning, accompanied by his *Excellency* (who, by the by, at that time, was deſerting his duty in the Senate) departed in a cloſe coach, for (as was ſuppoſed) Virginia. Of the former, nothing had been heard until it was known he was in France! What may add, perhaps, to the aſtoniſhment occaſioned by this developement, is, that he was not attended thither by his very courteous and diſtinguiſhed companion!

In the ſame gallican articles he is repreſented as having a ſettled diſguſt for the American government and its greateſt ornaments: this diſguſt was ſo ſeverely pointed at Preſident Adams and General Waſhington, as to induce him to refuſe a viſit from either! Wonderful indeed!—His not receiving a viſit from theſe diſtinguiſhed characters, however, is owing to far other motives than his own averſion; the former never being deſirous of ſuch a gratification,

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gratification, and the latter, being at Mount Vernon, would not, I am ſure, undertake a journey to behold the ſhattered remnants of a general ſo much his inferior both in virtue and in honeſt fame!—His Generalſhip, notwithſtanding his *diſguſt*, condeſcended to *accept* the viſit of Col. Pickering! and why?—"*De l'argent, beaucoup d'argent.*

Thus it is preceived, that after coming to this country, by a ſhew of, I am almoſt tempted to ſay, *unreal* miſery, exciting from our government a liberal mark of its munificence, he has returned to Europe, and early commenced the honeſt work of calumniating his benefactors! Thus it is evident that while enjoying the honors which worthieſt citizens heaped upon him, he was colleagueing with the direſt enemies of our peace; by his councils aſſiſting incendiaries and by his influence encouraging treaſon. And thus may we behold in a character that has heretofore attracted our admiration, an odious aſſemblage of the meaneſt paſſions and vices.

While I am giving currency to theſe valuable facts and obſervations, I muſt do myſelf the juſtice to remind my readers, that, though an almoſt univerſal infatuation prevailed in favor of this mutilated rebel, that infatuation never reached *Peter Porcupine.* He never deceived me. I told the public, the moment he landed, that he was come here for *no good*; and, when the Congreſs moſt prodigally voted him (as they did *Citizen Fayette*) a large ſum of money, in conſideration of ſervices, which he had been extolled for having rendered purely *for the love of liberty*; then did I tell the public, that that money was not deſtined to maintain him in a comfortable retreat, in America. I told them he was a *bird of Paſſage*, and that the money once in his hands, he would *ſoon take his flight for France.*

Nobody

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Nobody believed me. Some ſaid I was too ſuſpicious, and others had the impudence to aſſert, that I calumniated the man, merely becauſe he had faught in the cauſe of American independence. A very worthy gentleman in New-Jerſey told my Clerk, that he approved of every thing I had ever written, except my remarks on the *worthy Koſciuſko*. Yet we now ſee that I was right. I am believed now, when it is too late.

Culpability is far from being the characteriſtic of Americans, in common concerns of life; but in politics, they have ſhewn themſelves moſt miſerably ſhallow. They have been the dupes of every artful raſcal, who has thought it worth his while to deceive them: and though gulled by *Koſciuſko* this year, they ſtand ready to be gulled by *Fayette* the next.

Eloquent Savages.—It appears from the Vermont papers, that a ſquad of Indians have lately been at Vergennes to a *talk* with the Governor and Legiſlature of that State, of which the following is a part:

" *Big Fathers,*

" May the Great Spirit brighten the chain of " friendſhip between our tribe; may the pathway " between us be kept ſo that *a little child may find* " *it when the ſun is aſleep in his blanket under the weſ-* " *tern waters.*"

If they had called them *Big Mothers*, the language would not have been ſo revolting. This *talk*, in point of eloquence, is much about equal to the *infamous* ſpeech of LOGAN. The poor copper-coloured devils never hatched it. It was taught them by ſome fur-merchant, and they repeated it, like parrots. Yet ſhall we, very probably, ſee ſome

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ſome philoſopher of the day, ſome precious compound of folly and knavery, giving this ridiculous bombaſt to the world as a ſpecimen of the SUBLIME, and as a proof of our *inferiority* to theſe itinerant ſavages.

As to the object of this *Talk*, it appears to be MONEY. Whether the *Big Fathers* will give it, is another queſtion. If they have common prudence, they will not give them a farthing; for, if they once begin, they will have *talk* upon *talk*, 'till there is not a penny or a bottle of rum left in the State.

Logan and Wife.—In Brown's paper of laſt evening, the following moſt impudent publication appeared.

To the Printer of the Philadelphia Gazette.

DEBORAH LOGAN requeſts you to give the following a place in your paper.—*Stenton, Nov.* 5, 1798.

Extract of a letter from Dr. Logan, dated Bordeaux, Sept. 9, 1798, *to his wife.*

'I have the pleaſure to inform you that I embark 'this day on board the ſhip Perſeverance for Phila- 'delphia, and ſhall bring with me *diſpatches for our 'government*, calculated to *reſtore that harmony*, the 'loſs of which has been ſo ſenſibly felt by both 'countries. All American veſſels in the harbours 'of France have been releaſed—all American pri- 'ſoners have been ſet at liberty; and the moſt 'poſitive aſſurances have been made, that France 'is ready to enter on a treaty for the amicable ac- 'commodation of all matters in diſpute. Ameri- 'can citizens are treated with reſpect in every part 'of

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'of France, and the appearance of a reconcilia-
'tion between the two republics affords the higheſt
'ſatisfaction to all claſſes of citizens in this coun-
'try, &c. &c. &c.

'GEORGE LOGAN.'

This is, indeed, pretty work! This impudent fellow, by the means of his too obedient wife, thus informs the Democrats that he has completed his miſſion, and that no further hoſtile meaſure againſt France ſhall be taken.

Now is the criſis advancing. The abandoned faction, devoted to France, have long been conſpiring, and their conſpiracy is at laſt brought near to an exploſion. I have not the leaſt doubt but they have fifty thouſand men, provided with arms, in Penſylvania alone. If vigorous meaſures are not taken; if the proviſional army is not raiſed without delay, A CIVIL WAR, OR A SURRENDER OF INDEPENDENCE IS NOT AT MORE THAN A TWELVEMONTH'S DISTANCE.

It is uſeleſs to ſay much on the ſubject. To a people, who have heard their dangers rung in their ears inceſſantly for five years paſt, without being rouſed to a proper ſenſe of them, or, indeed, to any ſenſe of them at all; to ſuch a people it is almoſt uſeleſs to talk. I am ſick of beholding, and of hearing the apologies for, their torpidity and indifference. The baſis of their liberty, the only ſecurity of their property and their lives, is attacked with all the fury of madneſs and is undermining with all the craft of perfidy; and yet we ſee not a hand raiſed in its defence; we ſee it ſhackled, thwarted at every ſtep, and deprived even of the little energy which it poſſeſſes by nature.

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ture. Its enemies are all combined. They act with the prudence and promptitude of a bold and artful individual; while its friends (if ſuch they can be called) are all detached from each other, and wherever you hear or ſee them, they are always without union of deſign or energy of action.

The partizans of France are linked together in one chain, from Georgia to N. Hampſhire. The ſeditious impudence of the *Democratic Societies* has given place to the dark and ſilent ſyſtem of organized treaſon and maſſacre, imported by the UNITED IRISHMEN, the horrors of which may be learnt, not by viewing that kingdom during the late rebellion; but by attending to the diſcoveries that have been made; by reading the *intentions* of the conſpirators, if their plans had been attended with ſucceſs. All the innumerable miſeries, to which the proprietors of Ireland were doomed by the *Sheares's* and their blood-thirſty gang, at this moment are intended for the proprietors in this country. And yet the pretended friends of America are aſleep; or if they do now and then raiſe their heads, and rub their eyes, it is only to *talk* a little and fall aſleep again.—They will be awaked by and by, with a vengeance.

He is come! He is come!! He is come!!! ENVOY LOGAN, the PEACE-MAKER, is come!!! The *Perſeverance* is below, and Logan is very probably in——*Germantown*, whence he doubtleſs ſent the note, which appeared in Brown's paper of laſt evening, as if tranſmitted by his wife.

It is reported, that he is to make his public entry this afternoon, carried in a ſtate chair, bearing in his hand an *Olive Branch*, and accompanied by his ſecretary of Legation.—What a pity that *addled eggs* are ſo ſcarce!

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From the New York Gazette.

This paper has long been noted for its mongrel politics; for its "*holding with the hare, and running with the hounds*"; for its ſilly and impotent enmity to all government *unblessed* with the epithet *republican*. But, I do not recollect ever having met with even in this paper, abſurdity ſo groſs, and inſolence ſo tranſcendant, as are exhibited in the following paragraphs:

"Oppoſition to a *bad* government is *always laudable*. If the government be radically vicious in its organization, to change it is right, and every proper meaſure for that purpoſe deſerves approbation—Whether it be nominally popular as in France, or deſpotic as in Turkey, every attempt to alter it for the benefit of the people, is a virtue. All governments *not emanating from the people are uſurpations*, and therefore *rightly reſiſtable*—but all reſiſtance to a really *legitimate* government is treaſon *againſt the people*, and deſerves the ſevereſt puniſhment.

"If theſe general maxims be correct, (and we preſume their accuracy will be diſputed only by hardened Jacobins) what epithets of reprobation can be too pointed againſt American oppoſitioniſts? The federal government is the reſult of deliberate choice by a numerous, reflecting and enlightened people. The two great branches of it, the Legiſlative and Executive, are decidedly popular—both return periodically and repeatedly to the maſs of *people*, and are replaced by them in free Elections. *This government then, is the only legitimate government on earth.*

"It is an axiom in republican politics that the majority muſt rule. This power is exerciſed by proxy; and whoever erects, or is acceſſary in erecting a ſyſtematic oppoſition to this proxy, or government eſtabliſhed by the people, is a bad citizen, and merits the reſentment of the people.

If

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"If a party be formed under the auſpices of any foreign ſtate to clog the wheels of goverment, it is treaſonably engaged in reſiſting the will of the *people*, and of courſe deſerves *capital* puniſhment.

"Look at the oppoſition papers in the United States—what are they about? Indiſcriminately defaming the Legiſlature and Adminiſtration—of courſe openly vilifying that very PEOPLE for whom they profeſs ſo deep a reſpect. This is Jacobin conſiſtency. We do not aver that every oppoſition gazette is actually upheld by French money; but there is reaſon to believe the principal ones, from the ſmall number of oſtenſible ſupporters, derive aſſiſtance from other ſources.

"At any rate, papers of that deſcription are real evils; they are the greateſt curſe to which free governments are liable; they are the deciſive evidence that internal enemies and foreign mercenaries exiſt among us. No perſon really attached to his country, can ſee, without abhorrence, the malignant falſehoods circulated againſt the men of his choice; and the inceſſant efforts to degrade America, and raiſe the reputation, palliate the crimes, and promote the principles at once deſpotic and anarchical of her deadlieſt enemy.

"Whoever does this is a foe; whoever countenances it is a traitor;—the PEOPLE ſhould watch him with a jealous eye, and conſider him as ripe for "treaſon, ſtratagems and ſpoils."

"Whatever party in the ſtate uniformly oppoſes, as well by acts as in converſation and writing, the government eſtabliſhed by the *People*, and ſends, unauthorized, an agent of their own to treat with the deſpots of ſuch foreign ſtate, that party is treaſonably engaged againſt the PEOPLE. They ſhould be ferreted out of their lurking places, and condemned to the puniſhment, merited by every patricide from the days of Adam to our own.

"*Tant pour cela.*"

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Yes; *tant pour cela* (ſo much for that) ſo much for the moſt impudent and ſtupid ſtring of paragraphs, that ever found a place in the New York Gazette.

This ſenſeleſs and malignant wretch tells his readers, that all governments not *emanating from the people*, not *really legitimate*, are *uſurpations*; and are *rightly reſiſtible:* and that *this* government is *the only legitimate government on earth;* from which we muſt inevitably conclude, that, he ſets *all other governments* down as *not legitimate*, and, of courſe, as *rightly reſiſtible*. So that, taking in what follows, every hoſtile attempt againſt the *American Government* ought to be *capitally* puniſhed; while revolt and rebellion againſt *every other government on earth* is not only *juſtifiable* but *laudable!!!*——When I ſuſpect a *Republican* of *modeſty* may my ſenſes forſake me, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth!

I ſhall only add, that it was hardly fair in this ſapient *federaliſt* to rail againſt Jacobins, while he was thieving the maxims of TOM PAINE.

IRISH REBELS.

Song, from a Dublin Paper.

The ruthleſs *Fitzgerald* ſtept forward to rule,
His principles form'd in the Orleans' School;
The torch of rebellion he wav'd in the air,
And Maſſacre ſpread in the plains of Kildare;
While folly and madneſs abetted his crime,
He fell like a ruffian, and died in his prime.
Down, down, Croppies lie down.

In Dublin the traitors were ready to riſe,
And murder was ſeen in their low'ring eyes;
With poiſon, like cowards, they aim'd to ſucceed,
And thouſands were doom'd by aſſaſſins to bleed;
But the Yeomen advanc'd, of Rebels the dread,
And each Croppy ſoon hid his daſtardly head.
Down, &c.

The

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The Northerns diſplay'd the mercileſs ſteel,
And murder'd in Antrim the high-born *O'Neil*;
By *Clav'ring* and *Durham* aſſaulted, they ran
To their fortified camp on the banks of the Bann;
From whence they diſpers'd, and ſkulk'd away home,
When they heard of the Orange men marching to Toome.
Down, &c.

The innocent Rebels of Ballinahinch,
With tears in their eyes when they thought of their Prince,
To treaſon's head-quarters their thouſands they bring,
To pay no more rents, and put down their King,
But ſoon as bold *Nugent* advanc'd to attack,
The *innocent* Croppies were thrown on their back.
Down, &c.

In Wexford they made a moſt deſperate ſtand,
And with fire and rapine diſfigur'd the land;
Their maſſacred captives they caſt in the flood,
The Slaney ran crimſon with loyaliſt blood;
But vengeance purſu'd with death and deſpair,
And the carcaſe of *Harvey* ſoon tainted the air.
Down, &c.

Defeated by *Lake*, they rally'd their force,
And into Kilkenny directed their courſe,
By *Murphy* led on, o'er the Barron they pour,
But hundreds were fated to paſs it no more;
For *Aſgill* attack'd them again and again,
And three times five hundred laid down on the plain.
Down, &c.

Prieſt *Murphy* declar'd to the fanatic crew,
Who believ'd all his words as the Goſpel were true,
"No bullet could hurt a true ſon of the church;"
But the Devil ſoon left the poor Saint in the lurch:
For by ſome ſad miſtake, through a hole in his ſkin,
A Heretic bullet juſt chanc'd to pop in.
So down, down, the Croppy fell down.

JOHN

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JOHN RUSSELL, the ſpirited editor of a Boſton Gazette, in ſpeaking of the ſelf-tranſportation of theſe raſcals, remarks, *that Great Britain uſes America very ſcurvily in thus making it a ſort of Botany Bay.* Softly there, friend Ruſſell! Great Britain lets the villains go *where they chooſe*, and if America is ſo faſhioned, or has ſo conducted herſelf, as to have become the object of their choice, Great Britain cannot help that. But, let us be candid for once, and allow, that the evil is to be aſcribed to America herſelf, and to her *alone*. It has been her boaſt for theſe ten years paſt, that ſhe was daily increaſing her population at the expence of other nations; ſhe beckoned to the *malcontents* of Great Britain and Ireland, to quit their *oppreſſions*; ſhe ſtiled herſelf the *aſylum* of the *oppreſſed* of all nations. She has ſeen her error; let her take meaſures to prevent its fatal effects; let her ſhut the door againſt the emigrating gang; but let us not blame the nations, from whence they come.

Liberty of the Preſs!—Under this head I am about to communicate to my readers, a knowledge of the moſt infamous tranſaction that ever took place, not only in a country calling itſelf *free*, but in any country on earth.

By turning to my Gazette of the 7th inſt. the reader will ſee a *preſentment* of the grand jury of Jefferſon county, in Georgia, againſt a *gazette* and againſt the *printer* thereof; the former they call a *public nuiſance*, and the latter a *public grievance*.

This Gazette is entitled the "SOUTHERN SENTINEL." It is publiſhed at *Auguſta*, by Mr. *Alexander M'Millan*. It is almoſt the only federal paper in that country: it is remarkable for excellence, on every account, on which a newſpaper can be called excellent. The merit of the editor was ſo generally acknowledged, that he was choſen, and he ſtill

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ſtill is, printer to the ſtate legiſlature; but, the bold and uſeful truths, which, from time to time, appeared in his paper, drew on him, not a proſecution from the governor (the noted JACKSON) but his *dark* and *deſpot-like* revenge.

Mr. *M'Millan* never having furniſhed the leaſt handle for a legal proſecution, either criminal or civil, ſeveral attempts were made to prevail on Grand Juries *to preſent him.* It was tried *in ſeveral different counties*, and at laſt ſucceeded, as we have ſeen, in the county of Jefferſon. It was all along ſuſpected, that the *Governor* was at the bottom of theſe nefarious attempts, and the horrid fact was at laſt aſcertained in the following manner:

The Governor's brother, *Abraham Jackſon*, is his *Secretary of State.* When the aſſizes were approaching in the county of Burke, this brother and ſecretary wrote a letter to one *Caldwell* (who appears to have been ſummoned on the Jury) deſiring him to procure the *preſentment* of *M'Millan*; but told him, at the ſame time, that he ſuppoſed another of the jury, whom he named, would have a preſentment *ready*; if ſo, he requeſted *Caldwell* to "be eaſy," and, in every caſe, to be ſure to mention nothing of *his* interference in the buſineſs, &c. &c.

This moſt vile and aſſaſſin-like epiſtle got ſafe to the hands of *Caldwell*, who, on his journey to the court, ſtopped at a gentleman's houſe, where he lodged, and *got drunk.* A drunken man is unfit for a conſpirator. *Caldwell* let the epiſtle drop out of his pocket. His hoſt took it up, opened it, and, filled with horror at the wickedneſs of the bearer as well as the author, he immediately ſent it to the Printer, whoſe downfal they had concerted. The following documents, taken from the "Southern Sentinel," and the paper of one *Smith*, publiſhed at Louiſville, will explain the reſt.

"*Wayneſborough*

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" *Wayneſborough, Sept.* 10, 1798.

" DEAR SIR,

" The incloſed came into poſſeſſion by chance—a miſtake of Mr. Caldwell's—the effects of a heavy drink—It was written the 6th inſt. and received the ſame day—make what uſe of it you think proper.

" Mr. M'Millan."

" *Dear Caldwell,*

" Incloſed you'll find the petitions ſent for.—I have to requeſt you to ſpeak to the Grand Jury *thoſe who can be relied on* and uſe your exertions to procure a preſentment againſt M'Millan and his party for the unmerited attack on the *chief magiſtrate* of the ſtate—perhaps Captain Whitehead *has one already*, if ſo, *be eaſy*, and *mention nothing of my being acquainted.* —General Morriſon may do a great deal.

" Should a preſentment take place tranſmit it to me, *certified.*

" Your's, &c.

" ABM. JACKSON."

" Thurſday Morning."

To the Citizens of Georgia.—Unaccuſtomed to the unpleaſant taſk of uſhering my name before the public tribunal, I feel the utmoſt regret at being placed in a ſituation that at this period demands ſo great a ſacrifice. When the cauſe, however, is taken into view, an apology, I truſt, will be deemed unneceſſary.

Whilſt I entertain a juſt ſenſe of the injury contemplated to have been done to myſelf, perſonally, in the above trait of baſeneſs and corruption, I believe my fellow citizens appreciate their rights too highly, to view with unconcern and indifference the inſult offered to a grand inqueſt of the ſtate of Geor-

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gia. To temporize with a body of men thus ſolemnly convened to preſent, without "fear, favour, "or affection," all grievances that might come within their knowledge—to endeavour to draw them to the commiſſion of perjury, and impreſs on their minds a belief that this awful crime was of leſs importance than a momentary gratification afforded the Chief Magiſtrate; are ſuch violations of every moral obligation—ſuch indelible ſtains on human nature—that I defy the catalogue of French perfidy to produce their equals.

In making theſe obſervations, let me not be underſtood as placing this buſineſs altogether to Abraham Jackſon's account—no—he was directed or rather ordered to do ſo: for, to make uſe of Swift's metaphor, he only ſwallows the ſpittle of his brother, to cough it up again with the addition of his own phlegm.

With reſpect to the unmerited attacks on the Chief Magiſtrate, I am of opinion (and I really would not hazard an opinion without a good foundation) that he merited every ſentence which reprobated certain parts of his adminiſtration: were I not of this opinion, I never ſhould have ſanctioned the publications alluded to; I am not in the habit of ſporting wantonly with the feelings of any man—I harbour no perſonal enmity againſt the preſent Governor of Georgia. It is the meaſure, and not the man, that I would hold to public view: if thoſe attacks are really unmerited, why are they not refuted? I will as readily communicate the defence to the public, as I have the charges; and the community will then determine, whether any thing that might be advanced on the *defenſive*, would place the matter in a more advantageous point of view. Does he ſuppoſe that ſtrictures on the conduct of public officers are to be ſuppreſſed, becauſe they are diſagreeable to ſuch officers? Does he wiſh to do away

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in this country, the only true channel through which the people can promulgate their ſentiments on public meaſures? If ſo, we poſſeſs the ſhadow, not the ſubſtance of liberty. When a man, however, for the ſake of party, or of certain points, relinquiſhes the uſe of reaſon, he is only enabled by the violence of his paſſions, to work himſelf the deeper into error and abſurdity: he may uſe much zeal in an apparent good cauſe; but let us recollect, that zeal, like charity, can cover a multitude of ſins.

I do not well comprehend Mr. Jackſon's meaning in attaching a party to me. Does he mean that there is a part of the community of my way of thinking ſo far as relates to Executive proceedings? —If ſo, he does me infinite honor: for I can aſſure him that ſame party is compoſed of the moſt reſpectable and beſt informed men in this ſtate; and this is certainly a matter of no ſmall ſatisfaction to me, at a moment that I have to contend with every ſtratagem that rancour and ingenuity can invent, to injure me in the eyes of my fellow-citizens.

As the citizens of this ſtate will no doubt conſider their rights and privileges infringed in the above nefarious attempt, I have directed an additional number of papers containing theſe publications, to be ſtruck off for their information. The gentleman who made the detection, is entitled to the thanks of his country; and I take this opportunity of returning him mine.

A. M'MILLAN.

Auguſta, October, 3, 1798.

Jackſon's Anſwer.

MR. SMITH,

It is not to enter the liſts of ſcurrility with Mr. M'Millan, that I requeſt the inſertion of a few lines, in your next paper—For, to meet the abuſe of the dirty editor of the Southern Sentinel, has been indiſcriminately

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diſcriminately the lot of every chief magiſtrate of this ſtate, from the time of the arrival of that Highland gentleman in the more favourable climate of Georgia, to the preſent period; and I confeſs, had he paſſed me over in ſilence, I ſhould have ſuppoſed, that neither my merit as a public ſervant, nor my honeſty as an individual, were ſufficiently deſerving, to ſtir his gall, or to rouſe his reſentment.

A wounded brother, unable to counteract the lie Mr. M'Millan aſſerted in his paper of the 4th inſtant, is the only apology I can offer for appearing in your paper.

For although Mr. M'Millan has made contracts with the General Aſſembly which he never meant to perform; although he has deceived the Legiſlature with the ſpecious pretext of eſtabliſhing a preſs and paper at Louiſville; although, with brazen front, he has libelled all the powers of the ſtate government, legiſlative, executive, and judiciary, and, added to thoſe, the very conſtitution itſelf, and yet *modeſtly ſtiled himſelf printer to the ſtate*—Although he has directed with aſſaſſin hand the ſecret daggers to the reputations of men, who fought and bled for the independence we enjoy, when in all probability he was in his plaid and kelt, and wild among the mountains; although his preſs has teemed with the hobbys of a faction—angry, becauſe defeated, and blackguards for want of argument—Yet, Sir, no one would have ſuppoſed his aſſurance ſo unbounded, as to come forward under his own ſignature, to aſſert falſhoods to cover his ſlander. He has declared that I ordered my brother to write to Mr. Caldwell on the ſubject of the Burke county grand jury.

I do moſt ſolemnly deny, that ever my brother was ordered or deſired by me to write to Mr. Caldwell the letter which has been publiſhed, deſiring him to ſpeak to the Burke grand jury, and I hope that

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that my ſtanding among my fellow-citizens for twenty-ſix years paſt, will at leaſt ſtamp a credit on my word equal to the aſſertion of Mr. M'Millan. But, Mr. Smith, if I had written to Mr. Caldwell myſelf to ſpeak to that grand jury, and to lay Mr. M'Millan's ſcurrilous papers before them, inſtead of ordering my brother to do ſo—The villainous conduct of *ſtealing private letters*, worſe than robbery on the high-way, *to gratify revenge*, would far ſurpaſs the heinouſneſs of laying his dirty papers before a grand jury, which knew how to diſcriminate between the liberty and licentiouſneſs of the preſs, and between ſolid facts, decently ſtated, and the dung-barge abuſe of the Southern Sentinel, for which, or one half of his publications againſt the government in his own country, he would have had his ears nailed to the pillory.

The Executive is however informed, that the department may enter its plea of defence at this dung-hill tribunal—a moſt gracious privilege from Mr. M'Millan's Court of the Preſs—But that printer ought, long ere this, to be informed, that the Executive treats his paper and ſcurrility with ineffable contempt; and would not degrade the department by the inſertion of a ſingle line in ſo dirty a vehicle, fit only for a depoſit in the Temple of a Cloacina, and unworthy the attention of any decent mind—Nothing could juſtify the notice I here take of him, but the ſituation of my brother, and to prevent the body of the people from being deceived by his baſe falſehoods.

One word, Mr. Smith, and I have done with Mr. M'Millan and his dirt for ever, for I ſhould diſdain a reply.

Such authors as thoſe who may aſſiſt his licentious preſs, are greater enemies to the cauſe of America than Victor Hughes, or the French Directory. They court attacks from France by repreſenting us as a

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divided people, and, further, as a people oppoſed to the governing powers—while they actually divide at home, by pointing the finger of reproach at ſome of our beſt patriots, and ſtrive to break down the very *pillars of federaliſm*, the ſtate goverments——which, if not checked, muſt fling us once more into the arms of ſome foreign nation, or ſettle us down into a government ſimilar to France, *one and indiviſible*, ſo very much reprobated, *and ſo very unſuitable to our intereſts.*

I am, Sir, with reſpect,
Your obedient ſervant,
JAMES JACKSON.

Louiſville, Oct. 8, 1798.

To his Excellency James Jackſon, Governor, &c. &c.

SIR,

Had there been any thing wanting to leſſen your dignity in the eſtimation of thoſe over whom you unfortunately preſide as Chief Magiſtrate, your late publication, levelled at me, would have been a full evidence of it. To retort on your excellency, in your own very *flowery* and *elegant ſtile*, would be paying an ill-compliment to the delicacy of my readers, and equally as bad to my own underſtanding.

Your excellency is pleaſed to accuſe me of ſcurrility. If you will have the goodneſs to caſt your eye, in your *cooler* and *more ſober moments*, over your own *very polite* eſſay, I flatter myſelf you will find there as true a ſpecimen of ſcurrility and abuſive epithets as can be culled out from Billingſgate. Dirt, dung, and Cloacina, are ſo judiciouſly, and ſo very happily, arranged and interſperſed in that very ſpirited philippic, that, for purity of diction and elegance of thought, I will match it againſt any piece of oratory ever uttered by a Pariſian fiſh-woman, or a Billingſgate dame. In your preſent elevated ſtation, your excellency has truly verified the

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the obſervation of a late author, viz. *That when the political pot boils, the ſcum riſes to the top.*

Pray, Sir, what greater crime can you attach to my having been born in Scotland than that of your having been born in England? Like you, I have never attempted to deny the place of my nativity: and if your excellency had known that I actually pride myſelf on having drawn my firſt breath among the wild and rugged mountains of the Highlands, I am perſuaded you would not have taken the trouble to let the world know it.

But, Sir, for this, and the reſt of your malevolence, I moſt freely forgive you; becauſe I know it to be no more than the incoherent effuſions of a diſturbed imagination—the *dernier reſort* of a guilty conſcience.

Your *pretended* profeſſions for the Federal Government will not be received by the people of this country as an earneſt of your patriotiſm—your apoſtacy at this period deſignates the political hypocrite, not the independent patriot. A man, who has once declared *that he would join the French, if ever they landed in this country*, is entitled to little confidence from the community.

What contracts have I made with the legiſlature that I did not mean to perform, or that I have not performed? Inſtance one. If I have violated engagements, to that honorable body I am amenable, not to your excellency.

I cannot ſubſcribe to your determination of ending our correſpondence at this early ſtage of it. There are ſome circumſtances that require elucidation, which, if ſuffered to remain in embryo, would be rendering much injuſtice to your excellency, and to your fellow-citizens.

A. M'MILLAN.

Theſe documents, God knows, ſtand in no need of commentary. The infamy of the tranſaction is

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ſo glaring and damning in itſelf, that no light can make it more clear, no colouring can make it more horrible. One remark, however, in JACKSON's ſhuffling, baſe, and blackguard letter, I cannot let paſs.

After the development of a plot, that would, if poſſible, have diſgraced the *five-headed monſter* itſelf, he has the impudence to tell *Mr. M'Millan*, that he would have been *worſe treated in his own country!* He ſhould have avoided this, as he would avoid the pains of hell; for, without any hint from him, the people of Georgia will be ready enough to look, with a longing eye and an aching heart, to the chief magiſtrate and grand juries of Great Britain! Had the King of Great Britain (I beg pardon for the ſuppoſition); had the King of Great Britain acted as he has done; had his *brother*, or his *Secretary of State*, SENT AN AGENT TO PROCURE A PRESENTMENT FROM A GRAND JURY, and had he dared to ſhelter him, and take the act to himſelf, as this Governor has done, his reign would have been of ſhort duration. Neither the ſacredneſs of his perſon, nor the extent of his power, would have ſaved him. The *public indignation*, the ſpirit of *true liberty*, which is not content with *an empty name*, would have ruſhed through the bayonets of his guards, and hurled him from his throne.

BRITONS, when ſome precious knave ſhall again call on you to *reform* your monarchy into a *repreſentative government*, hollow in his ear the name of JACKSON, and ſtrike the villain dumb.

One duty remains for me to perform; that is, to record, and, as far as in my power lies, to hand down to everlaſting ſhame the *Grand Juries* who preſented M'Millan.

J. B. Spivey,
W. B. Lochmon,
John Cowart,
John Gamble,
Wm. M. Gabee,
Wm. Hardwick,
John

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John Scott,
Solomon Wood,
B. Whitaker,
John Cobbs,
Joſiah M. Steret,
Wm. M'Dowell,
M. Shelman,
Jeſſe Paulett,
Tand. C. Key,

"HERE on the rack of juſtice let me lie,
"Fit garbage for the hell-hound Infamy."

Nelſon's Victory.—Yes, the malignant raſcals did rejoice at every ſhadow of a victory gained over Great Britain: the Democrats, aye, and many of the Federaliſts too, did rejoice when the gallant little army of the Duke of York was obliged to retreat before fifty times their number, and through the country of the baſe wretches, who, after having invoked their aid, betrayed them, and ſhot at them from their hiding places. Yes, you did rejoice; you held civic feſtivals, you rang bells, you fired cannon, you roared, and you got drunk, to celebrate what you called, and what you thought, *the defeats of Great Britain.* You ſaid, in your hearts, with *Old Rutledge*, that *ſhe was proſtrate on the earth, and that you had nothing to do but ſeize her by the throat, and to ſee her* EXPIRE IN AGONIES. Yes, you did rejoice, you were in raptures, you were in ecſtacies at the ſavage idea. I remember this, and I truſt I never ſhall forget it.—So much by way of *Preface.* How it applies to the ſubject that follows, I muſt leave the reader to find out.

Boſton, Nov. 12.—Some weeks have elapſed ſince the intelligence of Nelſon's victory was announced to the public, through the medium of the Commercial Gazette; at that time it did not obtain the univerſal credence which its very probable aſpect merited. The fact was, that the news was of too momentous conſequence to be believed without a more official confirmation. We have now the ſatisfaction to aſſure our

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our readers, that ANTICIPATION has proved the precurſor of TRUTH:—FOR BUONAPARTE HAS BEEN DEFEATED BY THE ARABS;—AND HIS FLEET CAPTURED BY ADMIRAL NELSON.

Yeſterday afternoon, the armed ſhip Foxwell, captain Stevens, arrived in thirty-ſeven days from Briſtol, with London papers to October 1. By the politeneſs of the captain we were immediately favoured with a file of the Courier (an anti-miniſterial paper) which, to every one in the leaſt acquainted with the politics of that paper, muſt afford the ampleſt corroboration of Nelſon's victory. We particularly refer our readers to the hand-bill poſted at Lloyd's Coffee-houſe—which places the account in the ſtrongeſt point of credibility. The defeat of Buonaparte by the Arabs, between Roſetta and Grand Cairo, completes the fruſtration of that arch-buccaneer's ſcheme to ſubjugate the eaſt. Another important branch of the intelligence received by this arrival, is the article from Conſtantinople, which confirms the former account, that a coalition is actually forming between the Porte, Ruſſia, and England, againſt the arms and intrigues of France.

Warner Mifflin.—On reading in ſeveral newſpapers a publication, ſigned at Camden, by Warner Mifflin, Daniel Mifflin, and Jonathan Hunn, reſpecting a perſon therein termed a ſwindler, who called himſelf Henry Penn Wharton, where it is inſerted "*He was a vile raſcal, and not worthy of a place in the world:*" From my long acquaintance with, and knowledge of, W. Mifflin, I was fully perſuaded it was not his language, and on enquiry I find the words he made uſe of were—"*Many clear caſes have turned up to prove him to be a very great impoſtor, to ſay no worſe.*" This information I am authorized to give by *Jonathan Hunn*, who acknowledges he made

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the alteration *in haſte*, without due conſideration; and he leaves me at liberty to *clear the character of my deceaſed friend* from the *injurious reflections* that may be caſt upon his memory, or on the religious ſociety of which he was a worthy member. This I requeſt may be publiſhed in all the papers wherein the notification alluded to has been inſerted.

JOHN PARRISH.

Philad. 17*th* 11 *Mo.* 1798.

When Mr. PARRISH handed me this for publication, I told him I could not let it go off without a remark, nor ſhall I.

Though the communication profeſſes (and I believe is really intended) to be what Mr. Parriſh calls a vindication of the character of *Warner Mifflin*, I am afraid it will generally be looked upon as an indirect vindication of the character of *Henry Penn Wharton*.

Beſides, I cannot for my life ſee the uſe of Mr. *Parriſh's* communication. He allows that *Warner Mifflin* declared Wharton to be "a VERY GREAT IMPOSTOR, *to ſay no more*;" and it will require not a little ingenuity to prove, that "*a very great impoſtor*" is not "*a vile raſcal.*" Where the diſtinction lies I cannot conceive; except, that the former deſignates the particular ſpecies of raſcality, which the latter does not. Can it be on the point of mere *politeneſs*, that Mr. P. wiſhes to "*clear up* the cha-"racter" of his deceaſed friend?

However, let us not, Mr. Parriſh, "ſtrain at a "gnat and ſwallow a giant." You know we ought not. And, ſince you have thought it neceſſary to trouble me and my readers with a vindication of your deceaſed friend's character, where it ſtood in need of none, you certainly will not fail to come forward where all the warmth of your friendſhip is wanted. You have read Briſſot's Travels, I pre-

 ſume

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ſume; and I preſume, too, that you have there obſerved a chapter entitled "WARNER MIFFLIN." Now, Sir, while that chapter remains uncontradicted, that *Warner Mifflin* will, by thoſe who read that book, ever be looked upon as the greateſt *fool*, or the greateſt *hypocrite*, that God ever ſuffered to let live. When I read that book, I never had heard of *Warner Mifflin*. All I could learn from it was, that he was a *Quaker*; and, if I had not happened to have lived ſome time in Pennſylvania, where the name of *Quaker* ever conveys the idea of all that is ſincere and upright, I ſhould have ſet their ſociety down amongſt the moſt deſpicable of religious impoſtors.

Here then, Sir, is a noble field for the exerciſe of your zealous friendſhip. Here the character of your friend ſtands in *need* of vindication; and, if you neglect it, the world will certainly attribute your preſent publication to *the vanity of wiſhing to be known as the friend of one of the moſt eminent men in your Society*. How far the world will be right, I ſhall not pretend to ſay; but the world is ill-natured.

The money ſtolen from the Bank of Pennſylvania has been recovered. It was ſtolen by one ISAAC DAVIS, a carpenter, and a notorious *democrat*, and by the porter of the Bank, Cunningham, alſo a *furious democrat*. The latter was taken ſick with the yellow fever, after the robbery, and died. So that *Davis* was left ſnug enough; but he was prevailed upon to confeſs, and the money is recovered all but about 2000 dollars. In the account of this buſineſs, as publiſhed in the other papers, it is ſaid that *Davis* is *pardoned*. This is ſtrange work. I know of no power to *pardon* a felon other than that of the Governor of the State, who, God knows, is enough diſpoſed to do it. I know of no *right* to *compromiſe with a felon*, I don't believe it is *lawful*, and I *know* it is *unwiſe* and *unjuſt*. No ſum, no conſideration

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whatever, ought to ſtop the courſe of *juſtice*. My God! ſhall a man eſcape, *merely becauſe he has ſtolen an immenſe ſum!!!*

I am the more aſtoniſhed at this *compromiſe*, as the gentlemen, who are ſaid to have entered into it, are univerſally acknowledged to be men of great public ſpirit and unſhaken integrity; and I can attribute their conduct, on this occaſion, to nothing but an exceſſive zeal for the intereſts of the inſtitution.

Communication.—I cannot reconcile with my ideas of public juſtice, or of ſound policy, the eaſy eſcape of the culprit that robbed the Bank of Pennſylvania. There was a moral turpitude in the act he committed, as well as an offence againſt the laws of his country, that called for exemplary puniſhment. Juſtice is a debt due to the commonwealth, which no man, or body of men, has a right to commute with the offender for any conſideration whatever. Frequent inſtances of impunity, and they have been too frequent in Pennſylvania, tend not only to leſſen the terrors of the law, but to looſen the bonds of morality and religion:—and theſe are the only ſolid foundations of a republican government. The ignorant and depraved, who often ſee criminals eſcape the puniſhments annexed to crimes, will be tempted at laſt to reſolve all law, and religion too, into expediency; and to conclude, with *M. Volney*, that there can be no guilt where there is no detection. When the difference between right and wrong; when moral honeſty, and the ſacred obligations of law and religion, are ſpirited away into an airy nothing, or into mere political contrivances, to ſecure the wealth of the rich, men will ſoon be made fit for the more atrocious acts of univerſal plunder and rebellion.

I am perfectly of my correſpondent's opinion. Such inſtances as this throw an obloquy on what ought

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ought ever to be looked to with reſpect, and even reverence. It is an old maxim with thoſe who wiſh to decry all ſort of ſubordination, that "the laws "are *cobwebs*, which hold the *weak*, but which *the* "*ſtrong break through*;" and, it muſt be confeſſed, that the compromiſe with *Davis* gives but too much reaſon to ſuppoſe, that this odious maxim is founded in truth. This man ſtole nearly *two hundred thouſand dollars*, and he is *at perfect liberty*, while a poor caitiff, who ſtole a book out of my ſhop of *three quarters of a dollar* value, is now *at hard labour in the jail!* Can this be called juſtice? Do you expect men to reſpect a government that winks at this? If you do, you deceive yourſelves moſt egregiouſly.

"Juſtice, when equal ſcales ſhe holds, is blind;
"Nor prejudice nor mercy move her mind.
"When ſome eſcape for that which others die,
"Mercy to thoſe, to theſe is cruelty." DENHAM.

NELSON'S VICTORY.

Minute of Facts ſtated in the Diſpatches to Lord St. Vincent.

The French tranſports ran into the Nile, and Buonaparte landed with only a few proviſions on hand, with about 38,000 men, 2,000 having been cut to pieces on an attempt to land at Alexandria, where they expected a paſſive reception. The laſt diſpatches ſtate, that the only ſupplies Buonaparte could get were a little rice and water, brought to him on camels by the Arabs, but that the Turks were taking meaſures, not only to cut off this ſuccour, but to march againſt him.

The crew of the Timoleon, when the ſhip took fire, attempted to ſave themſelves on ſhore, but were all cut to pieces. The L'Orient's people were in part deſtroyed in the ſame manner, and blown up; only a few eſcaped, perhaps into the woods to ſtarve.

The

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The French fleet, at the time of the action, had only five days proviſions on board.

We further learn by Mr. Yates, who came paſſenger in the America, and who was favored by Admiral Jervis himſelf with the official particulars above related, that none of the tranſports were deſtroyed, having probably run up the bay of Roſetta into ſhallow water, and that nothing certain had tranſpired to unravel the future projects of Buonaparte, whether he meant to ſettle down in Egypt, or whether he caſt his wiſhful eyes on the diſtant ſhore of Mangalore. His ſituation at beſt appeared to be hopeleſs—his armed ſhips captured or deſtroyed, his tranſports blocked up, and his retreat cut off; his proviſions nearly exhauſted, and a ſupply precarious at leaſt, if not unattainable; and, above all, preſſed on every ſide by hordes of Saracens, too barbarous to be worked upon even by French deluſion. The forebodings of the invader muſt forcibly aſſure him, that the deſpoiler of Italy, and the conqueror of Egypt, will never be united in the ſame man; and that he has, fortunately for the world, perhaps, left the channel of Britain to periſh on the banks of the Nile. *Balti. Ed.*

I never felt more at a loſs, than I do on the preſent occaſion. One can ſay nothing reſpecting a victory like this. To call it *Glorious*, is to give but a faint idea of it. It is, in fact, to under-rate it, by putting it on a level with other ſignal victories. The world never before beheld ſo complete, ſo deciſive a blow.

The French (and their ſilly partizans here) have long boaſted of their *ſuperior valour*. This they have had the impudence to do amidſt defeats without number, and diſgrace unparalleled. In almoſt every naval combat ſince the beginning of the war they have been much ſuperior in men and guns, and yet in every inſtance have they been defeated. This holds

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holds good with reſpect to ſingle veſſels as well as fleets and ſquadrons. In the preſent inſtance, the raſcals have *lied* as uſual. By turning to the extracts from their enſlaved papers, which we publiſhed here a few days ago, it will be ſeen that they tell their degraded vaſſals, that the Engliſh fleet was ſuperior in ſtrength. But it appears, from the above official detail, that the ſtrength of the combatants ſtood thus:

Britiſh.		French.	
Men.	*Guns.*	*Men.*	*Guns.*
7,770	1,030	9,900	1,192

So that the French had 2,130 men, and 162 guns, *more* than the Britiſh.

But, ſay the vain boaſters, it is not by dint of blows; it is not by Britiſh *courage*, but by Britiſh *ſkill in manœuvering*, that we are out-done. Such an excuſe as this has always appeared to me extremely ridiculous; for though there may be, and certainly is, ſome little advantage gained in the onſet, by a ſkilful diſpoſition of the fleet; yet it is very evident, that every action muſt be decided by the exertions of the ſeveral ſhips, or, more properly ſpeaking, by the proweſs of the men who fire the guns, and who manage the ſails.

Fortune, however, as if ſhe were determined to place the ſuperiority of Britiſh valour beyond all diſpute, decreed that, this time, there ſhould be *no manœuvering*. The ſhips were *anchored along-ſide of each other:* there was no ſuch thing as *wearing* or *tacking:* there was nothing to do but *load and fire*; and the conſequence was ſuch as we have ſeen it.

Let us hear no more then of *French valour*. When they are *ten to one*, and have *cannons againſt muſkets*, they can beat the Germans. When they have prepared their way by ſeduction; when they have raiſed the force, that ſhould defend a country, to act againſt that country; in ſhort, when a country is ſubdued by

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by its own villainous traitors, then the *brave* ſans culottes can *vanquiſh* it. But, againſt an enemy that fights them in earneſt, they are the baſeſt of cowards. They can cut the throat of a prieſt, knock down a cripple, ſtrangle an infant, or rip up a woman with child; but a man in arms they dare not meet. I ſay the French *republicans* have always been *cowards*, and I only want *leiſure* to *prove*, by a collection of indiſputable facts, that what I ſay is true. The glare ought to be rubbed off the raſcals.

It is a ſhame that many even of the honeſt part of mankind, ſhould believe that the ſavage monſters are *brave*.

DECEMBER, 1798.

Saint Andrew's Society.—I ſhall not inſert the account of the celebration of St. Andrew's day at Philadelphia, becauſe the celebrators did not drink the health of the KING of the country, for which they pretend to retain ſuch an affection.

Two of the volunteer toaſts, however, I cannot help giving a place to.

JUDGE M'KEAN (as Preſident of St. Patrick's Society) gave, "*May we live all the days of our lives.*"

To this *bright ſally*, the following repartee was made by MR. JAMES CRAIG: "*Every honeſt man "his own, and every rogue his halter.*"

THE CENTURY:—*From the ſame Norfolk Herald*, appears the following advertiſement, by a perſon, who pretends to be really intereſted in the deciſion of the Queſtion, and who therefore merits my attention.

Princeſs Anne, Dec. 18, 1798.

Meſſ. WILLETT & O'CONNOR,

SIRS,

I am a poor Widow Woman, whoſe great Uncle by her Father's ſon died lately, and by his will

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will he hath left me a legacy of £100, to be paid me in the 19th century; that is, he ſays, "*Item*, I give "to my niece Deborah Violet £100, to be paid to "her in the 19th Century." Now, Sirs, as I am a poor woman, and I am told you have a great many *law gentlemen* in Norfolk, you will render a great ſervice if you will get their opinion when, and at what time, I have really a right to demand the ſame. In ſo doing you will oblige,

Your's at command,

DEBORAH VIOLET.

P. PORCUPINE TO MRS. VIOLET.

Dear Madam,

Having a ſingular affection for widows of the *Violet* race (eſpecially thoſe who are in full bloom), and obſerving you in ſome little diſtreſs for advice, you will not be ſurpriſed, that, without further ceremony, I proceed to offer you the beſt, which it is in my power to beſtow.

And, firſt, my ſweet *Violet*, I think you have applied to the wrong ſource; for one principal part of a lawyer's profeſſional ſkill conſiſts in knowing how to procure *delay*; and, I aſſure you, that all the Gentlemen of the Bench and the Bar, whoſe opinions I have heard on the ſubject, have decided the point againſt you. I reſided, ſome time ago, near a ſmall village, which was honored by being the ſummer's retreat of a *Lawyer* and a *Judge*. The former of theſe might not, indeed, have been much accuſtomed to the *Chriſtian* Calendar; but be that as it may, they both ſaid (and I believe they ſwore), that the eighteenth century ſhould not end 'till 1801. Prepoſterous as this aſſertion certainly is, you may be aſſured, that they were prepared to maintain it, even againſt one who ſhould have riſen from the dead to convince them of the contrary.

You

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You may look upon it as a ſettled point, that whoever has got your 100l. will keep it as long as they can. You will find it difficult, even twenty years hence, to perſuade *them* that the 19th century is arrived. Sued they therefore muſt be for the money, and, according to an eſtabliſhed maxim in the law, the ſooner you begin, the ſooner you will have done.

I would adviſe you to plead your own cauſe: no eloquence is ſo convincing as that which flows from female lips. Your adverſary, conſcious of the badneſs of his cauſe, will have plenty of lawyers to oppoſe you. They will inſiſt that the 18th century cannot be ended 'till the year 1800 is ended; they will tell you that this is the 1798th, and not the 1799th year, and ſo forth, and ſo forth, and ſo forth, to the end of the chapter. In return to all which, you will ſay; "pray, what century are we now in?"—They will anſwer, the "18th to be ſure". You will then aſk them, how it happens that we have continued to date 17 hundred during all the eighteenth century?—If there ſhould be a man of ſenſe amongſt them, he will laugh in his ſleeve; but you will ſee the young babblers ſtare like ſo many ſtuck pigs.—Before they have had time to recover, you muſt follow up your blow, and put to them the following queſtions:—"When did we *begin* to date 17 hun-"dred, at the *beginning* or the *end* of the ſeven-"teeth century?"—They will immediately anſwer: "at the *end* of the ſeventeeth century."—"Well "then," ſay you, "did we not alſo *begin* to date "1798 at the *end* of the 1798th year? If we began "(as you ſay we did) to date 1798 *at the beginning* "*of* 1798*th year*, why did we not begin to date 18 "hundred *at the beginning of the* 18*th century?*"——At this they will ſtand as mute as fiſhes. You will get *no anſwer* from them. They will, however, find their tongues after a time, and then they'll go on again

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again with their ſaids and ſoforths, and again inſiſt that 1800 years muſt expire before 1800 years are expired; and that 99 cannot make a hundred, and conſequently, and of courſe, 1799 cannot make 1800, and hence and from thence they will draw a concluſion as clear as day-light that, to attain 1800 years we muſt arrive at 1800. With about nine tenths of the jury the force of this *reaſoning* will be irreſiſtible; but, if there be amongſt them any man of a ſound underſtanding and a clear conſcience, he will remain locked up 'till he has gnawed off his hands, before he will give a verdict againſt you.

With the beſt wiſhes for the ſucceſs of your cauſe, I remain, my dear Violet,

Your moſt obedient,
And moſt humble ſervant,
P. PORCUPINE.

Congreſs—Have not yet formed a quorum, but it is expected they will to-morrow. The great queſtion is, WHAT WILL THEY DO? I will venture to predict.

America will, as the ſmall federaliſts ſay, remain *firm*; firm as a *poſt*, amidſt inſults and injuries innumerable. The politics of this country are exactly deſcribed in the ſublime and beautiful language of Joſeph Hopkinſon, eſq. and ballad-monger.

> "*Firm*, united, let us be,
> "Rallying round our liberty;
> "As a band of brothers join'd,
> "*Peace* and *ſafety* we ſhall find."

Are not you in raptures, gentle reader?—I am—Being *firm, rallying, joining like a band of brothers*, and all this to go and find out *peace and ſafety*, is a thought that charms by its novelty no leſs than it aſtoniſhes by its ſplendor.

The

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The political ſyſtem, thus poetically deſcribed, will be purſued by Congreſs with an undeviating ſtep. They will ſeek nothing but *peace* and *ſafety*, and it will ſo happen, that they will ſeek them juſt where they are not to be found; that is, in half meaſures, in cramping the nerves of the Executive power, and in the dangerous experiment of DELAY.

I have, with much pleaſure, ſeen ſeveral accounts of the high opinion, which the nations of Europe have begun to conceive of the ſpirit of the United States; and, if I have ſeen this with pleaſure, what ſenſations ought it to awaken in the breaſt of a *native American!* But, let it be remembered, and well remembered too, that this opinion of Europeans was founded upon the ſuppoſition, that America had reſolved to retrieve her honour *by arms*. It was founded upon thoſe proceedings of Congreſs, which indicated *war*; thoſe meaſures which immediately ſucceeded the communication of the diſpatches, and not thoſe with which the ſeſſion was terminated; not thoſe which teſtified neither patience nor reſentment; but a mixture of anger and puſillanimity. People may think what they pleaſe of this; but, I can aſſure them, that the truths which I now ſpeak, will be recorded by *the impartial hiſtorian* of theſe times.

And here, methinks, I hear ſome rich proprietor exclaim, "What do we want with *war*, if we can "live in *peace*"!—Thou man of mud! it is not the temporary preſervation of thy land, nor of thy houſes, nor thy dollars, nor thy ſcrip, that ought to be the *firſt* object with the government; it is the permanent good of the whole country, which is inſeparable from its *honor*.

The hiſtory of all times, and of modern times in particular, is fruitful in examples of the fatal conſequences of a too ſtrong attachment to *peace*.

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There is not a ſingle inſtance among the vaſt viciſſitudes of fortune experienced through the territories of modern Europe, where a ſtate which has bowed down under a ſenſe of her own inferiority, and ignominiouſly ſought after peace, has not ultimately ſuffered more than he could have done from a fierce and bloody war.—Struck with a ſenſe of ſuch dangers, the legiſlators and ſages of antiquity, laboured with peculiar anxiety to impreſs upon the hearts of the people an ardent love for the military ſucceſs and glory of their country. They did not wickedly encourage it from a vain principle of ambition, but wiſely from a firm conviction, that it conſtitutes *the only means to ſecure independence and reſpect.* When the high ſenſe of *national honor which cannot brook humiliation,* is once deſtroyed and routed out by lazineſs and avarice, that ſpirit is departed which gave life and energy to the people. The reſt is little elſe than a putrid maſs, infecting the ſoil upon which it lies. The Empire of the Eaſt, Venice, Spain, and, more recently, Holland, illuſtrate and confirm this opinion by the hiſtory of their decline.

I need not tell the reader, that I have borrowed this laſt paragraph from another pen; but, he will do me the juſtice to remember, that the ſentiments it contains, I have, in my unpoliſhed ſtyle, often attempted to convey.

The Contraſt.—Now, I think, is the proper time to remind the ſtupid and raſcally partizans of France of their boaſts, at the departure of *Buonaparte* from Toulon. Nothing can be better calculated to increaſe the vexation, the anguiſh, the infernal torments which they already endure, than the following *Contraſt.*

Buonaparte's

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Buonaparte's Speech.

To his Hordes, previous to their ſailing from Toulon.

" *Officers and Soldiers,*

" It is two years ſince I have commanded you; at that period you were on the river of Genoa, in the greateſt miſery, wanting every thing; having ſacrificed even your watches for your reciprocal ſubſiſtence. I promiſed to put a period to your miſeries. I led you into Italy — there every thing was furniſhed you: Have I not kept my word with you? *Yes!* Ah! well! Know that you have not yet done enough for your country, and that your country has not done ſufficient for you. I am now going to lead you into a country where by your future exploits you *will ſurpaſs thoſe which this day aſtoniſh your admirers*, and render to your country the ſervices which it has a right to expect from an *army of invincibles.*

" I promiſe to each ſoldier, that, upon the *return* of this expedition, he ſhall have at his diſpoſition, the means of purchaſing *ſix acres of land.*

" You are about to incur new dangers, you will participate

Admiral Nelſon's Letter.

To Lord St. Vincent, on the Defeat of Buonaparte's Fleet.

My Lord,

Almighty God has bleſſed his Majeſty's arms in the late battle, by a great victory over the fleet of the enemy, whom I attacked at ſunſet, on the 1ſt of Auguſt, off the mouth of the Nile.—The enemy were moored in a ſtrong line of battle for defending the entrance of the bay (of ſhoals) flanked by numerous gun boats, four frigates, and a battery of guns and mortars on an iſland in their van; but nothing could withſtand the ſquadron your lordſhip did me the honor to place under my command. Their high ſtate of diſcipline is well known to you, and with the judgment of the captains, together with their valor, and that of the officers and men of every deſcription, it was abſolutely irreſiſtible.

Could any thing from my pen add to the characters of the captains, I would write it with pleaſure, but that is impoſſible.

I have to regret the loſs of captain Weſtcott, of the Majeſtic, who was killed early in the action; but the ſhip continued to be ſo well fought by the firſt lieutenant, Mr. Cuthbert,

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ticipate them with our brethren the ſeamen; this force has not hitherto rendered itſelf formidable to your enemies, their exploits have not equalled your's — *occaſions only have been wanting*; but the courage of the ſeamen is equal to your's; their wiſh is that of triumphing, they will attain it with you. Communicate to them that invincible ſpirit which every where renders you victorious; ſecond their efforts, live on board with that intelligence which characterizes men purely animated and devoted to the good of the ſame cauſe; they have, like you, acquired rights to the national gratitude in the difficult arts of the marine. Habituate yourſelves to the manœuvres on board; become *the terror of our land and marine enemies*; imitate, in that point, the Roman ſoldiers, who knew how at once to defeat *Carthage* in the plain, and the *Carthagenians in their fleets*."

Cries of long live the Republic, and hymns of combat, followed this harangue.

The 15th and 33d half brigade of the line proceeded on board the different ſhips of the line in the ſquadron; all the troops of the expedition, infantry, cavalry, &c. are on board; we expect the order

Cuthbert, that I have given him an order to command her till your lordſhip's pleaſure is known.

The ſhips of the enemy, all but their two rear ſhips, are nearly diſmaſted; and thoſe two, with two frigates, I am ſorry to ſay, made their eſcape; nor was it, I aſſure you, in my power to prevent them. Captain Hood moſt handſomely endeavoured to do it, but I had no ſhip in a condition to ſupport the Zealous, and I was obliged to call her in.

The ſupport and aſſiſtance I have received from captain Berry cannot be ſufficiently expreſſed. I was wounded in the head, and obliged to be carried off the deck, but the ſervice ſuffered no loſs by that event. Capt. Berry was fully equal to the important ſervice then going on, and to him I muſt beg leave to refer you for every information relative to his victory. He will preſent you with the flag of the ſecond in command, that of the commander-in-chief being burnt in the L'Orient.

Herewith I tranſmit you liſts of the killed and wounded, and the lines of battle of ourſelves and the French.

French Ships.

Le Guerrier, taken.
Le Conquerante, taken.
Le Spartiate, taken.
L'Aquilon,

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order to ſail, which muſt be ſoon received.

L'Aquilon, taken.
Le Soverain Peuple, taken.
Le Franklin, taken.
L'Orient, burnt.
Le Tonnant, taken.
L'Heureux, taken.
Le Timoleon, burnt.
Le Mercure, taken.
Le Genereux, eſcaped.
Le Diane, eſcaped.
Le Juſtice, eſcaped.
Le Guillaume Tell, eſcaped.
L'Artemiſa, burnt.
Le Serieuſe, diſm. & ſunk.

H. NELSON.

Mr. Hopkinſon.—In little toad-eater Brown's papaper of Thurſday laſt, I perceived the following "*Communication.*"

"*Strange Works.—Poor ſinking Cobbett,* having no more Frenchmen in this country to devour, begins to cram his inſatiable maw of defamation with federaliſts.—*Polyphemus* muſt feed on human victims, friends or foes. "HAIL COLUMBIA!" and its author, were ſerved up laſt evening. Bache abuſed this ſong as a "*war whoop,*" and Cobbett ridicules it becauſe it has *no war* in it. It only recommends *firmneſs, unanimity,* and an *adherence to our liberty,* and propoſes no other advantage from them than "PEACE AND SAFETY." If we recollect rightly, Mr. C. has heretofore been a warm panegyriſt of Mr. Hopkinſon. Why this change? Mr. H. we underſtand, has been bold enough to be concerned in an action of ſlander againſt the *ſacred and moſt puiſſant William Cobbett,* and ſucceſsfully oppoſed his claim to remove the cauſe from the Pennſylvania courts, to thoſe of the United States.—Unpardonable offences!—How magnanimous is this man in his reſentments! How liberal in purſuing them!

His

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His *greatneſs of mind* is about equal to his *love of this country*. It is hoped the Preſident will not preſume to offer his Addreſs to Congreſs, without conſulting this Supreme Dictator of our land. His abuſe in the paragraph now alluded to, is more on the conduct of the government, and the general diſpoſitions of the people, than on Mr. H. or his ſong. —Perhaps Mr. Cobbett, finding his game almoſt up in this country *(he is done bragging of the increaſe of his ſubſcribers)* means now, by his contempt of *American ſupport*, to ſhew us he has *a more ſure one*."

This communication I have not the leaſt heſitation to attrbiute to Mr. *Hopkinſon* himſelf. It bears all the marks of the parent, ſpiteful, vain, and dull. Certain, therefore, as I am that he is the author, on him I ſhall proceed to retaliate, with, perhaps, as much dulneſs, but aſſuredly with leſs vanity and ſpite.

The principal object he has in view, evidently is, to impreſs on the mind of the public, that the criticiſm (or *ridicule* if he will), which I beſtowed on his SONG, as he calls it, aroſe, not from a perſuaſion of the demerits of that vapid performance, but from a *private grudge*, entertained againſt him *merely on account of his being concerned* (in the way of his *profeſſion*) *in an action againſt me, and his having oppoſed my claim to a trial in the Federal Courts*. In ſupport of this, he ſays, that, *previous* to his having thus performed his duty as a lawyer, I was a "*warm panegyriſt* of Mr. Hopkinſon."

I muſt confeſs, that, were this true; were I capable of ſuch illiberal and even baſe conduct as is here imputed to me, I ſhould not only merit the ſcorn, but the execration alſo, of every honeſt and honorable man. But, it is not true; on the contrary, it is one of the moſt falſe and moſt foul

 inſinuations,

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inſinuations, that ever was ſuggeſted by the implacable reſentment of wounded vanity.

After the ſtricteſt ſearch, I can find but *two inſtances*, in which I ever uttered, or wrote, a word reſpecting the *merits* of Mr. Hopkinſon. What I then ſaid was very little: mere common place, mere party praiſe, in which, though I was perfectly ſincere, I think, no human being, not inflated to a danger of burſting, would have found any thing amounting to *a warm panegyrick*. If, however, he is ſo ravenous after fame as to boaſt of the commendation of a man, whom he affects to deſpiſe, and by whom he is really deſpiſed, let him ſwallow it; let it be *a warm panegyrick*, but let him not, by miſrepreſentation, turn it to the diſadvantage of him by whom it was prematurely beſtowed.

The firſt time I ever noticed Mr. Hopkinſon (indeed this man was not known before) was juſt after his ſpirited ſpouting at Dunwoody's Tavern, which was more than three months *after* he was, and after I knew he was, *concerned againſt me, in the action to which he alludes*. I once, perhaps twice or thrice, afterwards made what I looked upon as honorable mention of his name; and all this was not only after I knew him to be concerned againſt me, but *long after*, I myſelf, with much regret, had heard him *oppoſe my claim to a trial in the Federal Courts*. The correctneſs of this ſtatement I challenge him to diſprove. So that, inſtead of my being illiberal, it appears that my *warm panegyrick* was beſtowed on him *after* the exiſtence of that motive of reſentment, to which, in the face of the public, he has the aſſurance to aſcribe my ridicule of his SONG.

Having proved, I truſt to the ſatisfaction of the public, that the motive attributed to me is falſe and malicious, it remains for me to explain my *real motive*; for the SONG is univerſally allowed to

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to be ſo far beneath criticiſm, and even ridicule, that every one will believe, that in noticing it, I muſt have had ſome other inducement than the uſual deſire of entertaining my well-informed readers.

'Till I returned to the city from the Yellow-Fever exile, I can conſcientiouſly avow, that I never felt an emotion of reſentment againſt Mr. Hopkinſon, and that I began to feel ſuch an emotion then, was wholly his fault, and not mine.

On the 4th of July laſt, the Battalion of Blues, under the command of General M'Pherſon, aſſembled to celebrate the day. After dinner, Mr. Hopkinſon (who had joined them but a day or two before, and who was a *private ſentinel)* got up on his ſeat, without ſolicitation, and without leave, and ſpoke (or rather ſqualled) an oration, which he had brought in his pocket for the purpoſe. The whole of this oration reſembled the bombaſtical rant of a *Bobadil*; but the following paſſage of it was unbearable;—"For *my own part, I ſolemnly pledge my-* "*ſelf*, that I will not ſurvive the ſubjugation of *my* "country; *I* will never ſurvive under the yoke of "a foreign tyrant. This vow I make, not in the "raſh intemperance of ſpeech, but on a matured "and unalterable reſolution. I make it in the "preſence of God and *my* country, and look to you "as the witneſs of *my* fidelity or diſgrace."

For a *private ſoldier*, who did not know how, and who, if he had known how, had not ſtrength to ſhoulder his muſket, thus to aſſume the heroic tone of a Cato, an Arminius, or a Prince of Orange, was unpardonable. It was inexpreſſibly offenſive. All the city were diſguſted at his nauſeous egotiſm. His enemies laughed; his friends bluſhed for ſhame. While murmurs of reproof were every where circulating amongſt the latter, I was the only perſon, who had the reſolution to ſhow my-

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ſelf his *real friend*, by giving a check to his inordinate vanity. But whoever looks at my paper of the 6th of July, will ſee, that I did it in that good-natured manner, which could have offended no one, who was not abſolutely incurable.

Hence, however, is to be traced the officious rancour of this man towards me. He ſaw no one take up the pen in his juſtification. He had not the confidence to defend himſelf. He even felt that my reproof was merited, but he had not the candour to acknowledge, or the magnanimity to forgive it.

The peculiar ſituation, in which I ſtand at this time, and *the certitude I have that my enemies wiſh to draw ſomething from me, that may injure me in an approaching legal deciſion*, prevent me from entering into an expoſition of his late conduct; but "I ſolemnly pledge myſelf" to a public, with whom I have ever kept my word, to exhibit to their view evidence to prove, that I have more than ſufficient reaſon for all the reſentment, that I can poſſibly entertain againſt a being ſo far beneath me. For the preſent, ſuffice it to ſay, that a few days after his baſe and relentleſs enmity had led him even to the indulgence of *a hope of beholding my RUIN*, I met him, by chance, at the Waſhington Tavern, where, without the leaſt advance on my part, he came down to me from the piazza, *took me by the hand*, and with as ſoft a ſimper as cheeks like his can aſſume, ſaid *he was glad to ſee me, and that he hoped all my family were well!!!*—Could you have done this, reader?—I hope not. Sooner would I ſee my arm wither by my ſide, than bare my hand to the man whom I hate!

In a temper of mind, with reſpect to him, ſuch as his behaviour was calculated to produce, I was the other day reprobating the idea of a *paſſive firmneſs*, when his SONG happened to come athwart my

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my brain. The temptation was ſtrong; and ſo, without taking much time to ſelect, I ſeized hold of the unfortunate *chorus*. I did, indeed, "*ſerve it* "*up*," as he ſays; but, it was "carved as a diſh "for the gods, and not hacked as a carcaſs fit for "hounds." If he were not dead to every ſentiment of gratitude, he would thank me for my tenderneſs, inſtead of running cackling about *threatening me* with his impotent vengeance, *in a place where he well knows I cannot prate.*

But, after all, what reaſon, as an *author* (for as an *author* he ſmarts), has he to complain of me? If my ridicule be well founded, he ought to profit from it, and mend his hand. If it be not, he has an opportunity, not only to ſupport the pretenſions of his performance, but to prove me a taſteleſs pretender to criticiſm. In ſhort, let him, or ſome of his admirers come forward and defend his doggerel, or let the paſtry-cook and trunk-maker have their due.

Never was there a man ſo lifted up, without merit, as Mr. Hopkinſon was by this Song. Every one who is above a ſtate of grovelling ignorance, knows, and freely ſays, that this SONG is an attempt at the *Bathos*, little inferior to the poem of *Senator Marſhall*. It raged for the moment, not on account of its intrinſic merit, but becauſe its reception or rejection was a trial of the ſtrength of parties at the play-houſe. A broomſtick ſet up upon the ſtage would have extorted equal plaudits. It was not the *ſong* nor the *author* (though he often took care to be preſent) that people cared about; it was the cauſe which they were eſpouſing. And yet this good ſoul, like the aſs loaded with relicks, had the modeſty to take all the homage to himſelf. The tooting muſician, by a good cudgelling from his driver, was awakened from his vain-glorious dream, and if I could but flatter myſelf that theſe remarks

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remarks of mine would produce the ſame ſalutary effect on his brother of Parnaſſus, I ſhould not think my time altogether thrown away.

In going over this my reply, the reader ſhould keep in view the inſulting language of my antagoniſt. He begins with calling me "*poor ſinking* Cobbett." Softly, good Grub-ſtreet, you have not ſunk me yet. I ſhall *ſwim* while I live, depend on it; and as to *poverty*, you ſhould remember, 'Squire, that *I* do not live by *favour*, and that I am not reduced to act the pauper-like farce of "*No Song, no* "*Supper.*" With reſpect to the increaſe of my ſubſcribers, as I do not look upon you as a jacobin, you are welcome to *come and be convinced*, that if I do not *brag*, it is becauſe I am deficient in a quality, which you have the happineſs to profeſs in ſuch an eminent degree.

As the feeble and trunkleſs ivy naturally crawls to, and clings round, the ſtately elm, to preſerve itſelf from being deſpiſed and trodden under foot, ſo ſuch a man as Mr. Hopkinſon clings round the government and the people. "Porcupine's *abuſe*," ſays he, "is more on the *government* and the *general* "*diſpoſition of the people*, than on Mr. Hopkinſon or "his SONG." How he could diſcover *abuſe*, in the criticiſm to which he alludes, I cannot imagine; but, let it be abuſe if he will inſiſt on it, and then let him, if he can, prove that this abuſe neceſſarily extends itſelf to the *government* and *people*. How came they to be identified with, or, at leaſt, ſo cloſely related to, his beggarly rhyme? By the importance which he attaches to it, one would imagine that it was nothing leſs than the *Magna Charta* of the Union, and that, with it the government as well as the character of the nation muſt ſtand or fall. It is very natural in the baffled and deſerted poetaſter to ſeek for a ſupport like this; but, if an admiration of his ſong be a teſt of attachment

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tachment to the Federal Government, that government is in a moſt deſperate way. From the ſervile regions of the play-houſe the ſong, like *Ca Ira*, has already paſſed into the mouths of the mob, where it begins to grow ſtale. There is here and there a cobler or a tinker that yet bawls it to the beat of his hammer; but, 'ere ſix months ſhall have paſſed, believe me, 'Squire Hopkinſon, it will find its way to the vaſt receptacle, into which your bombaſtical *pamphlet* long ago *quietly* deſcended.

This inſtinctive diſpoſition of ſeeking for extraneous ſupport, has led the modeſt creature to attempt to make *his cauſe* the cauſe of *the Battalion of Blues!* He runs about, I am informed, endeavouring to perſuade people, that, where I ſpoke, on Friday evening, of his being *united* with *a band of brothers*, and where I ſet both him and his *band* at defiance, I meant to aim a ſtroke at the corps, in which, it ſeems, he has enrolled his *name*. Like the wounded deer, he now flies for refuge and protection, to his former companions, from whom his impertinent ſelf-ſufficiency had led him aſtray. But, though neither M'Pherſon's Blues, nor all the people of the country united, ſhould check me in my literary chaſe after him, juſtice to that reputable battalion and to myſelf calls on me to declare, in the moſt explicit manner, that in ſpeaking of "*his band of brothers*," nothing was farther from my thoughts than a reflection on them. Not only do I reſpect them as the firſt volunteer corps that offered their ſervices in defence of their country againſt France; not only do I admire their ſteady perſeverance in a ſoldier-like conduct, and ſet the higheſt value on the effects which their laudable example has produced throughout the U. States; not only ſhould I be withheld by all theſe conſiderations, from hinting any thing to their diſadvantage, but, amongſt them are ranked many individuals,

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duals, for whom I have the higheſt eſteem, with whoſe cuſtom I have been conſtantly favored, and whoſe perſonal friendſhip I have the honor to enjoy. Can it be believed then, that I meant to wound the feelings of a corps like this, by ſinking every man of them to a level with Mr. Hopkinſon? No; and he *knows* I meant no ſuch thing: he *well knows* the "band of brothers," to whom I alluded; and, that the public may know as well as he, I will tell them, that I meant *his* band of brothers of the BAR. And, leſt he ſhould ſeek for ſhelter *here* alſo, I aſſure him, that I do not rank in this band ſuch characters as a Hamilton, a Martin, an E. Tilghman, a Lewis, a Rawle, a Bayard, or a Harper. Neither did I mean to include lawyers *in general*, but had in my eye *a certain number of individuals*, whoſe characters and conduct I ſhall one day place on a record more commodious and durable than a newſpaper.

Having now deprived the crippled poet of his props, I ſhould leave him to keep up his ſpirits by chaunting his own ſoul-cheering ſtrains, were it not that, by the malicious manner in which he concludes his attack, I feel myſelf urged to proceed a little further in my chaſtiſement.

He ſays, "perhaps Mr. Cobbett, finding his "game almoſt up in this country, means now, by "his contempt of *American ſupport*, to ſhew us he "has *a more ſure one.*"

As this inunendo is, in vulgarity of ſtyle, ſo it is in vileneſs of deſign, a ſlaviſh imitation of Bradford, Bache, O'Carey, Callender, and all the numerous horde of patriots, domeſtic and imported, who, ſmarting under my juſt reprobation of their conduct, have had recourſe to this mobiſh and cowardly calumny, for want of wit, argument, or facts, wherewith to furniſh a fair and manly retaliation. Slander is never ſo odious and deteſtable

as

as when it relies for credit on the falſe prejudices or the vices of mankind. Mr. Hopkinſon, I am ſure, does me the juſtice to believe, that I am not made of the ſame kind of ſtuff as himſelf; but he judges differently of the public whom he peſters and inſults. He feels, that *he* never ſhould have endured the toils, encountered the difficulties, or braved the dangers, in defence of the honour of *his* country, that I have in defence of that of *mine*, without ſome proſpect of *a pecuniary reward*; and preſuming (erroneouſly I truſt) that his countrymen poſſeſs the ſame mercenary diſpoſition, he appeals to their venality for a belief of what his reaſon and his conſcience tell him is a falſehood. Of ſuch conduct I want words to expreſs my abhorrence. I never could have expected it from any man with a mind unſophiſticated by the doctrines of republican France. Were I to meaſure my reſentment by the baſeneſs and malignity of this hackneyed inuendo, and were I armed with the pen of a Dryden or a Swift, then, indeed, ſhould I goad the inſidious calumniator with ſting upon ſting, 'till the city rang with his howlings, as did the rocks and caverns with thoſe of the vain and perjured Philoctetes. But, as I have not the power, neither have I the inclination, to inflict on him a puniſhment adequate to his offence. I deſire not to perpetuate the duration of the torments under which he now writhes: on the contrary, I ſincerely wiſh him his favorite *peace and ſafety*; though, indeed, I wiſh him not to find them in the diſgrace and diſhonour of his country, but in a ſpeedy return to that happy *obſcurity*, from which, like a muſhroom, he ſo lately aroſe*.

* Poor Hopkinſon made an attempt to do away the impreſſion, which this publication produced; and by that attempt, his character was blaſted for ever. He was proved to have come before the public, and to have given his *ſolemn aſſeveration* to a LIE.

United

United Iriſhmen.—Amongſt all the various dangers, which this country has to apprehend, the combination of a ſet of men, who denominate themſelves *United Iriſhmen,* is the moſt ſerious. Their organization is ſo complete and ſo extenſive, and their objects are ſo directly of a rebellious nature, that every power of government, and every exertion of individuals, ſhould be made uſe of to defeat their projects.

Mr. Fenno has been very induſtrious in getting information on the ſubject. He has publiſhed a liſt of names, *not, indeed, all the names of United Iriſhmen,* but as diſaffected Iriſhmen; Iriſhmen diſaffected to the government of the United States.

I applaud Mr. Fenno's generous zeal in the cauſe of his country; but when he publiſhed his liſt, I looked upon it as *premature,* for certain reaſons which no one could know but myſelf. I therefore did not copy his liſt into my paper; but, ſince *threats* have been thrown out againſt him, and ſince he has been actually *aſſaulted,* for this publication, I am determined to ſhew the Democratic crew, that there is at leaſt one man beſides Mr. Fenno, who dares openly to eſpouſe the cauſe of a good government in ſpite of all the hell of Jacobiniſm.

Liſt from Mr. Fenno's paper.

Samuel Wiley, *Teacher in the College.*
John Black, *Ditto.*
Thomas M'Adam, *Schoolmaſter.*
John O'Reilley, *Ditto.*
—— Moffat, Zachary's Court.
Samuel Parks, ditto, *Tavern Keeper.*
—— Reynolds.
Robert Brobſton.
—— Duane, alias Jaſper Dwight.
Matthew Lyon, of Vermont.

James

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James Carey.
Matthew Ditto.
Andrew Magill.
James T. Callender, *Scotch Renegade.*
D. Clarke, *Shoe-feller in Market-ſtreet.*
Lloyd, of Newgate.
J. D. Burke, late delegate from N. York.

This liſt, trifling as it is, and though it does not charge any man with being an *United Iriſhman*, threw the whole camp into confuſion and uproar. The *Careys* have come forward with a denial, as will be ſeen by the following letters, which I alſo take from Mr. FENNO's paper.

Mr. FENNO,

In your paper of yeſterday, after a column of virulent abuſe againſt United Iriſhmen, you have introduced my name among thoſe of ſundry perſons, who, your readers are given to underſtand, are members of that aſſociation; and thus, with equal decency, truth, and juſtice, you make me a participator of the abuſe you ſo freely beſtow. I am willing, Sir, to take your word, that you were not the compiler of the liſt, and that in the inſertion of it, you acted merely as Editor, without pretending to vouch for its authenticity. But, Sir, let me aſk you, how can you reconcile to your duty as publiſher of a paper, to attack the character, attempt to injure the intereſt, and diſturb the peace of a fellow citizen, without fully and ſatisfactorily aſcertaining the truth of the allegations you bring forward? From the very keen ſenſibility you formerly diſplayed reſpecting ſome ſtrictures upon your father, I ſhould have expected more tenderneſs for the feelings of others, than you have exerciſed on this occaſion.

To cloſe this lengthy exordium, I now declare unequivocally, that whoever informed you I am a member

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member of the Society of United Iriſhmen, is a liar, undeſerving of confidence. If I do not apply any harſher epithets, it is not becauſe the writer does not richly deſerve them, but becauſe I think a decent regard for the public ſhould forbid the uſe of ſuch terms as his conduct merits in a newſpaper. If the epithet I uſe is too hard of digeſtion, he knows where to apply for a remedy. I never in the whole courſe of my life attended a meeting of United Iriſhmen but once, and that was about eighteen months ago.

Dec. 19. MATTHEW CAREY.

Mr. FENNO,

Being laſt night informed that you had mentioned my name, in your paper of Tueſday, as a member of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, I am to requeſt that you will give equal publicity to my refutation of a charge, which is at once falſe and malicious.

I ſolemnly declare that I never was a member of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, either in Ireland or this country; neither was I ever preſent at any of their meetings, nor even propoſed as a member, to my knowledge. I think it neceſſary, however, to mention, that I do not make this declaration to remove any ſuppoſed odium which may be thought to attach to the members of that ſociety; for I believe the motives and views of that aſſociation to be equally laudable and virtuous—ſo much ſo, that I ſhould not be deterred from becoming a member, nor from continuing if I had been one, by all the torrents of abuſe with which they have lately been honored. My principal view is to ſhew the public how falſe your information is with reſpect to that ſociety, even in what occurs almoſt under your very noſe; it is therefore reaſonable to conclude, that your ſtatements of the objects and proceedings of remote

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remote branches of that aſſociation muſt, at leaſt, be equally erroneous—much more, it appears, they could not be.

I am, Sir,
Your's, &c.
JAMES CAREY.

Thus we ſee that one brother acknowledges *having been an United Iriſhman*, and that the other thinks the *motives* and *views* of the aſſociation to be *laudable and virtuous*. This is a very pretty way of convincing the public, *that Mr. Fenno's information is falſe!* It is an *Iriſh* way of doing it. It is well known (from the conſtitution of this ſociety) that its objects are to aid the rebels in Ireland, or (which is moſt probable) to aid the French, if occaſion ſhould ſerve, againſt the Government of the United States. Each of theſe objects is equally hoſtile to the United States, and yet the Careys have the impudence to ſay, that Mr. Fenno's information is falſe, when he claſſes them amongſt the *diſaffected Iriſh!!*

"*Matthew Ditto*" (I have laughed at this a hundred times) Mathew Ditto ſays, that he only *attended* a ſociety of United Iriſhmen. By a peruſal of their *teſt* and rules, it will appear, that he could not *attend* without being a member; and it will alſo appear, from the ſame peruſal, that he could not ceaſe to be member without breaking the ſhocking oath of ſecrecy. The ceremonies of the compact are eſſentially the ſame as thoſe of free-maſonry. The horrid oath muſt be broken, or the initiated ſtill remains an United Iriſhman.

I have little inclination to *criticiſe* on a production of Matthew Carey's; but, methinks, that *an author* ſhould know how to diſtinguiſh the parts of ſpeech to which his words belong. Matthew firſt calls the word *liar* an *epithet*, and in the next member of the ſentence he calls it a *term*. Yet this man *has been* a *vamper*

a *vamper of geographies*, and a grinder of "*Trifles in* "*Proſe.*" Theſe poor Trifles were the moſt unfortunate in the world; for, though the fineſt attempt at the proſaic bathos that I recollect to have ſeen, I do not believe that ten copies of them were ever ſold. The diminutive volume, like a premature chicken, periſhed with the ſhell on its head.

But, if Matthew Ditto is deſtitute of talents, he makes it up in ſpitefulneſs. What braſs muſt a man have to talk about *the peace of his family being diſturbed* by his being ſtyled a *diſaffected Iriſhman*, when, in the ſame paragraph, he aims a blow at a whole family of orphans, by alluding to what every one knows to be a baſe and wicked accuſation againſt their virtuous father! But the impudence of a Democrat is to be meaſured only by his malignity.

By the concluſion of Matthew's letter, he is, it ſeems, as uſual, *full of fight*. As it appears to be his intention to challenge, Mr. Fenno will have a right to chooſe weapons; and, if I were Fenno, I would fight him with a *pen*. Then we ſhall all enjoy the combat. As to any *perſonal* conflict between them, I hope that, on the part of Fenno, it will always be carried on by *the point of the ſhoe*.

To William Cobbett, Printer.—Philadelphia, Dec. 12, 1798.—Take notice, that I have applied to the judges of the court of common pleas, for the benefit of the inſolvent act, and they have appointed Thurſday, the 27th day of December inſtant, at ten o'clock, A. M. to hear me and my creditors, at ſuch place in the city where the court ſhall be held, where you may attend.

JONES B. M'COY.

Anſwer.—Mr. M'Coy, I thank you kindly for your gracious permiſſion to attend at the hearing of you and your creditors, and, in return, I give you my permiſſion

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permiſſion to keep what you owe me, or to preſent it to the devil, if you pleaſe.

WM. COBBETT.

Philadelphia, Dec. 19, 1798.

To WILLIAM COBBETT.

SIR,

Take notice, that I have applied to the honorable the judges of the ſupreme court of Pennſylvania, for the benefit of the inſolvent acts of this ſtate, and they have appointed Friday, the 28th inſt. to hear me and my creditors at ſuch place in the city of Philadelphia, where the ſaid court ſhall be then holden, where you may attend if you think proper.

Your humble ſervant,

CHRISTIAN GULLAGER.*

Anſwer. To Mr. Chriſtian Gullager.—Sir, it is, I truſt, unneceſſary for me to endeavor to expreſs the gratitude I feel for your kind invitation. I ſhould like, of all things, to make one of ſuch a charming party; but, beſides that I cannot ſpare the time, I am afraid that your gueſts would be ſo numerous, that we ſhould have a very lenten entertainment. I therefore pray thee, good Chriſtian, to have me excuſed.

I am, Sir, your moſt obliged,
And obedient humble ſervant,
WILLIAM COBBETT.

Wylie, M'Adams, and Black.—It will be remembered by the public, that Mr. FENNO publiſhed a

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* This was all that was neceſſary to pay off a man's debts in Pennſylvania! Since 1798, a law has been paſſed to make the matter *ſtill more eaſy*, by rendering *one advertiſement* ſufficient for *all* the debtors.

Liſt

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Liſt of *Diſaffected Iriſh*, of which the three names above-mentioned ſtood at the head. That Mr. Fenno did not do this without good information, every one, who has obſerved his uniform attachment to truth, muſt have believed; yet had two of theſe fellows the impudence to come before the public, and accuſe him of having told a LIE.

I think Mr. Fenno carried his complaiſance much too far, in making his valuable Gazette the vehicle of their inſolence; but, while I differ from him in this reſpect, I feel it a duty, which I owe to the public and to the government, to prove that his conduct with regard to his inſolent accuſers has been fair, upright, and meritorious.

On Thurſday I ſtated certain facts, upon the almoſt certain aſſurance, that *Wylie* and *Black* were the identical *diſaffected Iriſhmen*, of whom I had heard ſo much in my ſummer neighbourhood; and, upon enquiry, ſince made, I find that I was not deceived.

Wylie and *M'Adams* boarded at the houſe of *Mr. Nathan Leviſy*, who is well known to be an old and reſpectable inhabitant in the townſhip of Lower Dublin. Their diſcourſe on politics was, as I before obſerved, generally of the moſt ſeditious and inflammatory nature. They, on all occaſions, extolled the excellence, and juſtified the government, of the deſpots of Paris, while they as conſtantly abuſed the Preſident and General Waſhington. But, though little difference could be perceived in their ſentiments, *Wylie* was far the moſt violent and daring in his expreſſions. He made no heſitation to declare, and he did actually declare, before his hoſt and the family, that *the Government of the United States was fit for nothing but* INDIANS *and* HOTTENTOTS *to live under.* At another time, he ſaid that France was perfectly *juſtifiable in ſeizing the veſſels and property of the Americans; that America had behaved ungratefully to her; had defrauded her of what was her*

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her due; and, that she had no other mean than that of seizing American property, to indemnify herself for what she had suffered by American ingratitude and dishonesty. To these false and seditious assertions, *Mr. Levisy* replied, and with truth, that America had paid her all she owed her, and before it was due. It was in return to this reply (so natural from the mouth of an American, who heard his country blasphemed by a calumnious intruder) that the impudent pedagogue told him, he was an *impertinent fellow!* I certainly should have *laid thisc roppy down*, if I had been in Mr. Levisy's place. The old man was more moderate: his religion forbade him to chastise the wretch; but he told him, *that either he or himself must leave the house;* and the audacious emigrant was actually turned out to find board somewhere else.

M'Adams behaved with more caution than his mess-mate. He was a soft, smooth-tongued Teague, always canting about *humanity;* but this humanity did not prevent him from acknowledging, and, I believe, *boasting*, of his being *a manufacturer of* PIKES, before he left Ireland. This *pike-maker* now keeps a school near the sign of the Fox Chase. By the time he has given a *finished education* to the youth of Oxford and Lower Dublin townships, his talents may probably be wanted in the far-famed University of the metropolis.

Black did not come into the neighbourhood till towards the month of November. He had been, I think, about Lancaster, seeking pupils. He was not so unbearably audacious as *Wylie;* but, the political opinions of all three squared perfectly well. They all agreed in their reprobation of the Federal Government and its administration, and were all observed to *testify and express great joy at the prospect of the success of the rebels, and their friends the French, in Ireland.*

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One great ſubject of complaint with them was the *Alien Bill.* The Americans told them, that the bill was aimed at no *innocent* perſon; and that, if their conduct were unexceptionable, that law could touch them no more than it could themſelves. This they always combatted by ſome argument from the Hibernian ſchool; but, I truſt, that the people of America will have the penetration to perceive, in their complaints a convincing proof of the neceſſity, and the good effect of this ſalutary law. *Wylie* eſpouſes the cauſe of France; *Wylie* declares her to be juſtifiable in ſeizing the veſſels and property of the American nation, and *Wylie* dreads the effects of the *Alien Bill.* Is not the concluſion obvious? Is it not natural that ſuch a man ſhould *dread* the effect of this law? And, is it not neceſſary that ſuch a man ſhould have ſomething to dread, ſomething to keep him in awe, or to force him from the land, whoſe hoſpitality he repays by his calumny, whoſe government he vilifies, whoſe injuries and loſſes he rejoices at, and whoſe bittereſt enemies he juſtifies and extols? If it be *unconſtitutional* to give the Chief Magiſtrate of the country power to drive ſuch a buſy and hoſtile wretch as this out of it, then, indeed, is the Conſtitution a *bar* to the ſecurity and happineſs of the people.

One of the heavy charges brought againſt Great Britain, by the advocates of the Iriſh malcontents, is, that ſhe keeps thoſe "poor creatures in *ignorance.*" I hope this will no longer be alledged, now we know that one half of the country-ſchools in Pennſylvania are in the hands of theſe "poor *ignorant* creatures," and that the *learned* Univerſity herſelf does not diſdain to ſolicit their aſſiſtance. That two ſuch men as *Wylie* and *Black* ſhould be admitted into this ſeminary, will appear more aſtoniſhing to ſtrangers than to thoſe who have the honor to live in its vicinity,

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cinity, and who are acquainted with the characters and politics of the perſons who have principally the direction of its concerns. Thoſe who know that, for their *fire-maker* (a poſt that might have been filled by ſome poor honeſt American) they could be content with no one but a member of the *Correſponding Society of London*, who, in addition to his political virtues, has undergone a Pennſylvania white-waſhing by the inſolvent act; thoſe who know this circumſtance will think it quite natural, that preceptors ſhould be ſought for amongſt ſuch men as *Wylie* and *Black*.

The reluctance which prevails at preſent, reſpecting giving teſtimony againſt the internal enemies of the ſtate, is, I think, very reprehenſible. Ninety-nine written communications out of a hundred that I have received, containing accuſations, ſerious accuſations, againſt the Jacobins, are either *anonymous*, or accompanied with a requeſt, *not, on any account, to make uſe of the writer's name*. I have, of late, paid this ſpecies of information no other compliment than that of thruſting it into the fire. What motives can theſe informants have for keeping out of ſight? Do they tell me lies? Are they in bodily fear of the deſpicable caitiffs whom they accuſe? Are they afraid they ſhall loſe their Jacobin cuſtom or intereſt? Or, are they aſhamed to be known as decided friends of the Government? Some of theſe motives, or all of them together, muſt ever be lurking in their minds; or they certainly would not be ſo anxious about *ſecrecy*. Deſperate indeed muſt be the ſituation of the Government, when thoſe who pretend to be its only friends, and who really ſhow themſelves *officious in ſecret*, are afraid to run the riſk of even their names being mentioned in public! Give me not the man who will come into my houſe, or meet me at an *obſcure tavern*, and careſs me; but

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he who will take me by the hand in the market-place, that is the friend on whom I will call in the hour of danger; and I am ſure he will never *deny* nor deceive me. Such is the ſilent language of government. The ſtateſman muſt be an ideot, who places any reliance on the patriotiſm of men *without a name*. It would be like a general's hoping to defend a fortreſs with an army of ghoſts.

I may, another time, find an opportunity of inveſtigating the cauſes of this puſillanimity; at preſent I ſhall only add, that I deſire no communication with theſe political ghoſts, either by letter or word of mouth.

SONG,

Written by an American Gentleman, and ſung at the CELEBRATION *of*

ADMIRAL NELSON'S VICTORY.

From Britain's proud iſland, the Queen of the Main,
Hear the heart-cheering muſic of conqueſt again,
As Vincent and Duncan their triumphs unfurl'd,
So NELSON, brave NELSON, amazes the world.

Hearts of oak are her ſhips, hearts of oak are her men,
They always are ready,
Steady, boys, ſteady,
To fight and to conquer again and again.

Like cliff-guarded iſlands his ſquadron was moor'd,
His guns with the bolts of deſtruction were ſtor'd,
As the Angel of vengeance he ordered the fight,
And flaſh'd its red flame on the viſage of Night.

Hearts of oak, &c.

How

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How dread was the ſcene on the gloom-ſhrouded flood,
When Nile's oozy waters were mingled with blood,
While darkneſs and horror encompaſs'd the foe,
And death in all ſhapes laid the Infidels low.

Hearts of oak, &c.

With a burſt as from Ætna, their chief blown in air,
And their bare flagleſs hulks wrap'd in ſilent deſpair,
The conflict ſubſided: and NELSON ſublime,
In triumph, ſent home a whole fleet at a time.

Hearts of oak, &c.

Exult little iſland, fair Queen of the Main!
We'll echo thy ſongs of rejoicing again,
And ſoon ſhall our Eagle, combin'd in the cauſe,
Diſplay *his* ſea-laurel, and claim *thy* applauſe.

Hearts of oak, &c.*

GIRDLING TREES, *&c. &c.*—On the 13th ult. three days after the trial of Matthew Lyon for ſedition, the office of Mr. John Cook, of Poultney, a reſpectable young lawyer, was broke open, and his papers deſtroyed or diſperſed. Mr. Cook was a principal witneſs againſt Lyon, on the above trial.—The following are the names of perſons arreſted at the ſuit of Mr. Cook, to reſpond the damages he has ſuſtained in the depredations on his property;—John M'Arthur and Jeremy H. Dwyer, both of Lyon's printing office, Daniel M'Arthur, Merrit Prieſt, and Charles Hawkins, jun. all of Fairhaven; Elkanah Aſhley, Poultney. As the guilt or innocence of theſe perſons will ſoon be determined in a court of juſtice, from motives of delicacy we forbear to make any further obſervations, leſt we might be ſuppoſed to give a bias to the opinion of a jury.

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* This ſong was written by Mr WILLIAM CLIFTON, JUN. and was ſung at the City Tavern in Philadelphia.

On

On the 6th inſtant ſome villains girdled a fine young fruit-bearing orchard, the property of Mr. Silas Hamilton, of Fairhaven; they deſtroyed 120 apple trees. It may be recollected that this Mr. Hamilton is the perſon who Matthew Lyon proſecuted for defamation ſome time ſince. It ſeems Mr. Hamilton had aſſerted that Lyon had forged a letter to favor his election to Congreſs, and had given certain five pail kettles for votes. We do not know that we ſtate the defamatory words accurately; of this we are certain, Lyon proſecuted Mr. Hamilton for defaming his character. Mr. H. confeſſed the words, and juſtified; the jury gave a verdict in his favor, and Lyon had to pay coſts. This is the ſame man who has had his orchard deſtroyed.

On the night of the 10th inſt. Mr. Rann, of Poultney, near to Fairhaven, had a part of the trees of his orchard girdled; but the villains were frightened, and fled before they had completed their diabolical purpoſe.—N. B. Mr. Rann was the firſt perſon who mounted the cockade in that town.

On the 11th inſt. the orchard of Mr. Peter How, of Poultney, was partly deſtroyed; ſeveral fruit-bearing apple trees being girdled.—Mr. Peter How is a very honeſt pious man*.

Metallick Points.—From Noah Webſter's Paper.—
" We are well aſſured that Dr. Perkins, of Con-
" necticut, the inventor of the Metallick Tractors,
" has procured a patent for them from the Britiſh
" Government.

" We feel a pride in noticing this circumſtance,
" as it is an evident proof that the efforts of Ame-

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* This girdling trees is performed by cutting the bark off for about a foot all round the tree, which is ſure to kill it. A moſt nefarious, a moſt dattardly, a moſt fiend-like ſpecies of revenge, that ſeems to have been excited by republican political hatred.

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" rican *Genius*, even in the Infant State of our " Country, are conſidered as highly intereſting at " the very ſeat of Literature and Experience.

" Several Engliſh Publications ſpeak in very fa- " vourable terms of the Invention. In one, a num- " ber of cures affected by the uſe of the Tractors, " are ſtated and authenticated by perſons of re- " ſpectability. From the general good effect the " Metallick Tractors appear to produce in many " obſtinate and acute diſorders, we have reaſon to " believe, and ſincerely hope, that this Invention " will be ſoon highly *beneficial to mankind.*"

If NOAH had recollected, that the inventors of compoſitions for *blacking ſhoes* very eaſily obtain patents, methinks he would not have adduced a patent for the *Metallick Points*, as an evident proof of the ſucceſsful efforts of American *Genius*.——I know ſomething about theſe *Points*. A perſon made me a preſent of a pair, and I have frequently tried them; but owing, probably, either to my want of faith, or the thickneſs of my ſkull, I never felt any other effect from them, than what would have been equally well produced by a fork or a ſkewer.—However, not to withhold any praiſe, which in my conſcience I think due to the invention, I think proper to obſerve, that, though they are perfectly uſeleſs in any operation on the *human* body, they are of great uſe in certain operations on other ſubſtances. I ſpeak from *experience* here; for while I was in the country laſt ſummer, I had an old ſet of chair-harneſs, which was frequently out of order; but which, upon a proper application of theſe valuable points, and a piece of waxed thread, was always inſtantaneouſly reſtored.

I am ready to allow, that Doctor Perkins has an excluſive right to the invention, as far as relates to the cure of heads, collar-bones, &c. &c. &c. but in what relates to the cure of harneſs, ſhoes, and all the

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the various forms in leather, I muſt own it to be as excluſively mine; and to avoid any juſt grounds for a charge of undermining him, I thus early take an opportunity to appriſe him of my intention of applying, for a patent, to the Britiſh and American governments, from whoſe well-known diſcernment, juſtice, and liberality, in the patent-granting way, I have not the leaſt doubt of receiving the reward due to my genius and benevolence.

JANUARY, 1799.

One of the ſons of Prieſtley, it is ſaid, is come to the city, in order to take his departure for *Old England*, that land of *ſlavery*, *idolatry*, *penury*, and perſecution! That *falling nation!*—It is ſuppoſed, that, having emigrated with a view of becoming a Congreſs-man (at leaſt), and ſeeing that view like to be for ever eclipſed, he is retiring in dudgeon.—It might not be amiſs if the *Son of Erſkine* (the "Avocat de la Republique," the ſtanding counſel for traitors) were to follow young Prieſtley's example; unleſs, indeed, he be travelling, like his father's friend, *Briſſot*, in order to pick up *evidences in favour of republican government*. If this be his object; I can ſave him a vaſt deal of expence and trouble. If he can for a moment quit his *hoſpitable* hoſts, and come and make me a low bow, throwing aſide all the ſlang of the jacobin beau, and all the egotiſm of the Erſkine; if he will do this for one moment, I will permit him to make a ſelection from my Democratic Archives, more valuable than the *evidences* which he will be able to collect in a ten year's peregrination.

The Blounts.—EXTRACT *of a* REPORT *made to* SAMUEL ASHE, ESQ. *Governor of the State of North*

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Carolina, by the Board of Commiſſioners under the act, entitled "An act among other things to eſtabliſh a board for the inveſtigation of frauds ſuggeſted to have been committed in the Secretary's office."—"The examination of the warrants ſelected from the entry in John Armſtrong's office, have led to the diſcovery of the following facts:

"1ſt. In ſome inſtances the entry is made by one perſon, and the warrant appears in the name of another, while in the ſame inſtances no transfer appears, nor any mention made of a transfer in the book from the original enterer.

"2nd. After entries many warrants are noted to be detained for non-payment, which warrants are afterwards noted to be iſſued, and from the warrant it appears that it iſſued to a perſon different from the one intereſted in the entry.

"3rd. There are many meaſures on the entry book, which have a foul appearance, but it is hard to affirm the particular fraud or purpoſe they are intended to anſwer.

"4th. In ſome inſtances two warrants for the ſame and different perſons not expreſſed to be duplicates, but in the ſame number and for different land, are found in the office—where theſe occur we take one of them to be forged.

"5th. The ſurveys returned with the warrants, very frequently vary totally from the location as entered in the book.

"6th. Some of the warrants have been aſſigned by forgeries.

"7th. But the greateſt abuſe committed in this office, has been the obtaining of duplicate warrants; although there was no law to authoriſe the iſſuing of duplicates before that which was paſſed in the year 1796, a vaſt number and to a very large amount had previouſly been granted by John Armſtrong; nor does it appear in moſt of the caſes on which duplicates

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duplicates have iſſued from the entry-book, or from any vouchers, on what ground they have been obtained. In almoſt every inſtance of a duplicate warrant, the original too has been found, and both have paſſed into grants. Where both the original and duplicate warrant appear, the original has generally undergone an aſſignment, in ſome caſes by the owner, in others by forgery, and theſe original warrants are laid on a parcel of land different from the location in the entry-book, while the duplicate is accompanied with a ſurvey for the owner agreeing with the entry. In ſome inſtances an aſſignment is forged on the original warrant, and the aſſignee alſo obtains a duplicate in his own name.

" Warrants have been drawn in the name of John Gray Blount and Thomas Blount, for upwards of one hundred thouſand acres of land, on all of which duplicates have iſſued to John G. and Thomas Blount; the original of all theſe are found in the office; ſome of them aſſigned in the name of John G. and Thomas Blount to Stokely Donelſon; others of them by Stokely Donelſon, as their attorney, to himſelf; and ſome of them not aſſigned. The ſurveys on the duplicates are for John Gray and Thomas Blount, according with the original entry. The ſurveys, with the originals, are for Stokely Donelſon, or his aſſigns. It does not appear on what pretence theſe duplicates have iſſued.

The Commiſſioners have inclined to the opinion that the aſſignments on theſe are forged. The particular inſtances in which theſe frauds are exemplified, and the perſons concerned in the perpetration of them, will be found in the ſelected warrants marked L. herewith ſent; to which, for more certain information, the commiſſioners beg leave to refer your excellency.

This

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This *Thomas Blount* is a member of the Houſe of Repreſentatives of the United States, and is, at this moment, actually employed in *making laws* to govern the *Sovereign people!* — "Vivat Reſpublica," I ſay, and let all the world ſay *amen*, or elſe I'll call them a ſet of *Ariſtocratical* raſcals, the ſatelites of king-craft and prieſt-craft, and the enemies of true, equal, republican liberty.—If the people of Great Britain are not, from inſtances like this, convinced of the neceſſity of *parliamentary reform* and *univerſal ſuffrage*, they muſt be a ſet of obſtinate wretches, on whom it is in vain to ſpend ones republican breath.

Anthony Paſquin.—Among all the curſes that can befal a nation, eſpecially a nation ſituated as America is, I look upon the abuſe of the *preſs* as the greateſt. Severely, indeed, have theſe ſtates felt this curſe; and it will be found, upon looking over the liſt of thoſe, who have conſtantly employed the preſs in annoying the government, and in encouraging and juſtifying the hoſtility of France, that nine tenths of them are malcontents from Great Britain and Ireland. To the long ſtring of the Callenders, the Careys, the Duanes, the Burks, the Browns, the Lloyds, &c. &c. we are about to add the valuable acquiſition of "*Anthony Paſquin, Eſq.*" late of London, one of the Editors of that vile French hireling paper the *Morning Poſt*, and the author of the moſt infamous abuſe on the *Princeſs of Wales*. This fellow is arrived at New York, and finding the French is a falling cauſe, is, I am told, making an experimental *Eſſay* to extract *gold* from Federal cullibility. Whether the New Yorkers are ſoft enough to ſweat in his crucible, or not, I do not know; but I am reſolved they ſhall never have *want of information* to plead in excuſe for their folly and inconſiſtency, and therefore I preſent them with the following extract from the *Bæviad*

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and Maviad, a poem by the celebrated WM. GIFFORD.

"Theſe fancy "Bell's Poetics" only ſweet,
"And intercept his hawkers in the ſtreet;
"There, ſmoking hot, inhale *Mit Yenda's* ſtrains,
"And the rank fume of *Tony Paſquin's* brains."*

Univerſal

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* "TONY PASQUIN.—I have too much reſpect for my readers to affront them with any ſpecimens of this man's poetry, at once licentious and dull beyond example: at the ſame time I cannot reſiſt the temptation of preſenting them with the following ſtanzas, written by a friend of mine, and ſufficiently illuſtrative of the character in queſtion:

"*To Anthony Paſquin, Eſq.*

Why doſt thou tack, moſt ſimple Anthony,
The name of *Paſquin* to thy ribbald ſtrains?
Is it a fetch of wit, to let us ſee,
Thou, like that ſtatue, art devoid of brains?

But thou miſtak'ſt; for know, tho' Paſquin's head
Be full as hard, and near as thick, as thine;
Yet has the world admiring on it read
Many a keen gibe, and many a ſportive line;

While nothing from thy jobbernowl can ſpring
But impudence and filth; for out, alas!
Do what we will, 'tis ſtill the ſame vile thing,
Within all brick-duſt—and without, all braſs.

Then blot the name of PASQUIN from thy page;
Thou ſeeſt it will not thy poor riff-raff ſell.
Some other would'ſt thou take? I dare engage
Thy own deteſted name will do as well.

TONY has taken my friend's advice, and now ſells, or attempts to ſell, "his riff-raff" under his *own name*.

It has been repreſented to me, that I ſhould do well to avoid all mention of this man; from a conſideration that one ſo loſt to every ſenſe of decency and ſhame, was a fitter object for the Beadle than the Muſe. This has induced me to lay aſide a ſecond caſtigation which I had prepared for him, though I do not think it expedient to omit what I had formerly written.

Here on the rack of Satire let him lie,
Fit garbage for the hell-hound Infamy.

One

Univerſal Suffrage.—This *right*, which the republicans of the new ſchool have contended for with ſo much warmth, and ſo much metaphyſical nonſenſe, never was brought into diſgrace more completely than it has been in the new ſtate of *Tenneſſee*. We have a million times been told, that, if *all the people* exerciſe this *ineſtimable* right, they will ever be ſure, for their own ſakes, to chooſe none but men of *known fidelity*, *honour*, and *virtue*. The electors of S. Smith, Nicholas, Gallatin, Giles, Lyon, Logan, Leib, M'Clenachen, &c. &c. have gone pretty far towards eſtabliſhing the truth of this dogma; but the people of the *infant*, and of courſe *uncorrupted*, ſtate of *Tenneſſee*, have placed the matter beyond all diſpute. They have elected, as one of their State Senators, *William Blount*; that ſame William Blount, who did, at the time when they elected him, and who ſtill does, ſtand impeached of high crimes and miſdemeanors againſt the United States. And, to prove that this was the work of the *whole ſtate*, his brother Senators *have choſen him their Speaker!!*—What a raſcal muſt that be who, after this example, has the impudence to propoſe to the people of England what is called a *reform of Parliament!* I am no orator; but, with a ſtring of inſtances like this, I think I could

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One word more. I am told there are men ſo weak as to deprecate this miſerable object's abuſe, and ſo vain, as to tolerate his praiſe—for ſuch I have nothing but pity; though the fate of Haſtings, ſee the "Pin-baſket to the Children of Theſpis," holds out a dreadful leſſon to the latter—but ſhould there be a man, or woman—however high their rank—baſe enough to purchaſe the venal pen of this miſcreant, for the ſake of traducing innocence and virtue; then——I was about to——; but 'tis not neceſſary: the profligate cowards, who employ Antony, can know no ſeverer puniſhment than the ſupport of a man whoſe acquaintance is infamy, and whoſe touch is poiſon."

ſow

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ſow up the bubbling lips of *Cauncellor Ego* and his colleagues.

Liancourt.—The New York paper, by this day's Mail, ſeems to intimate, that the man, who was formerly *Duke of Liancourt*, is about to *reviſit the United States*. If this be true, and I think it is very probable, he comes for *no good*. He is, perhaps, the only man, that the Deſpots of Paris could ſend out on a *coaxing* miſſion. He was, while here, intimate with Adet, Talleyrand, Moreau, Volney, Collet, Jefferſon, &c. &c. and he was, at the ſame time, equally intimate with Knox, Hamilton, General Waſhington, and even the Britiſh Embaſſador. He wiſhed very much to ſcrape acquaintance with the officers civil and military of Canada; but, the Governor of the Upper Province abſolutely refuſed to fraternize with him. I often uſed to wonder at the conduct of thoſe, who ſeemed to have a juſt abhorrence of the French revolution, and yet admitted this man to their intimacy. He was a poor ſputtering ſlavering mortal in converſation. If we were to judge of nobility by what comes from the lips, this man would paſs for nothing more than a footman or a groom. I ſaw in him, for my part, nothing that could make his company bearable; and cannot imagine what it was that recommended him, unleſs it might be that paraſitical behaviour, which, I ſuppoſe, has cauſed him to be choſen for the projected Embaſſy to theſe ſtates.

How fallen, how wretched, is this man! The Emigrant, who fled from his country, and who continues in exile, though he may have fallen from opulence to poverty; though he be clad in rags, and pinched with hunger; though he be ſteeped to his very chin in miſery; yet it is *miſery only* that he feels; he does not feel himſelf debaſed and brutified. But, if ſuch a man as Liancourt has any feelings

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feelings left, what muſt they be at this time? When he recollects what he *was*, and what he ſtill might have been, had he remained faithful to his king; when, in retiring to his ready-furniſhed garret, he ſteals by the palaces which he formerly inhabited; when he goes cringing, cap in hand, to receive the commands of a ſet of low-bred miſcreants, who, ſeven years ago, would not have been admitted into the company of his valets; what muſt be his reflections? What his ſhame, his mortification, and remorſe? What torments of mind muſt he not endure? If he be not dead to all kind of feeling, he muſt, as the poet ſays of Lucifer, carry a hell about in his own breaſt.—Let him; it is his juſt reward; but I hope he will never be able to wheedle the Americans into a participation of his pains.

Young Prieſtley.—Joſeph Prieſtley, the ſon of the Doctor, is now in this City of Philadelphia, preparing to take ſhip for England. I aſked, the other day, how he could think of a return to that country of "*ſlavery?*" Since that time, I have heard of two facts reſpecting him, which, without further ceremony, I ſhall proceed to relate.

This *Joſeph Prieſtley, jun.* came to Philadelphia in the year 1793. Soon after his arrival, being in diſcourſe with a gentleman of the city on the ſubject of politics, he exultingly remarked, that *the Monarchy of Great Britain would be overthrown in a very little while.* The gentleman replied: "not "theſe *ſeven* years."—Yes," returned Prieſtley, "in leſs than *five*, and I'll bet you a hundred dol- "lars of it."—"Done."—"Done."——That the young political ſoothſayer has loſt, we all know. He has been reminded of it, ſince he came to town, and has promiſed to pay the amount of the bet.—I am not ſure, that I am quite correct as to the *ſum* (which is of no conſequence), but for the truth

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truth of all the other circumſtances I pledge my veracity; and I could have ſtated the *ſum* with equal confidence, but I did not like to apply for information to the gentleman with whom the wager was laid.

This fact proves, that the Prieſtleans counted with great confidence upon *a revolution in Great Britain*; that they enjoyed by anticipation the dethroning of their good, their great, and glorious old King, and of ſeeing him brought to an ignominious death! The man, who could feel pleaſure at a proſpect like this, well merits the title of *a modern philanthropiſt*.

The other fact will furniſh a pretty fair ſpecimen of Prieſtlean *morality* and patriotiſm.—Moſt of my readers will recollect, that, during the Seſſion of Congreſs of the year 1794, a propoſition was brought forward in the Houſe of Repreſentatives, *for ſequeſtrating*, and *holding at the command of government, all the debts due to the Britiſh ſubjects*. The injuſtice, the tyranny, the diſhoneſty of this meaſure, was manifeſt to all the world. It excited horror in the mind of every man of integrity in the country. Hundreds of American Merchants and Traders were heard to declare, that no law, no fine, no puniſhment, ſhould induce them to give up their books, or to lend their aid in defrauding their generous creditors, the Merchants and Manufacturers of Great Britain. The meaſure was, however, ſeen in a very different light by the younger *Joſeph*, the pious ſon of the "*patriot*, *ſaint*, and *ſage*." He was in the Houſe while the queſtion was agitated. *Sequeſtration*, villanous as it ſeemed to a great majority of the people of America, and rejected with diſdain as it finally was by Congreſs, did not appear villanous enough to merit the approbation of the young *Hackney Saint*, who, ſtepping up to a New-England member, ſaid: "Why do you ſtand

"debating

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" debating about *ſequeſtration!* Why don't you " *ſeize* at once?"—" What, Sir," replied the indignant American, " Do you take us for a ſet of " *raſcals and thieves?*"

I ſhall make no comment on theſe facts. I know that Prieſtley is about to leave what his father has called the " land of *equal liberty*," for that which he has called the " land of *ignorance, bigo-* " *try, perſecution, corruption*, and *tyranny*;" and I think it right to give him a fair opportunity of putting in his contradiction, before his departure. For any thing, no matter what, that he may judge proper to publiſh in reply to my ſtatement, my paper ſhall be open to him.

Feb. 5th. The pious Prieſtley's pious ſon is gone to England; he is departed, and without publiſhing a ſingle word in contradiction to my ſtatements of the 15th of January. That he would have contradicted them, if he could, no one will doubt. They muſt, therefore, be regarded as truth by every candid man: and the perſon to whom they relate, muſt be regarded as a moſt rancorous and unprincipled wretch.

WM. COBBETT.

N. B. The perſon, with whom Prieſtley laid the wager, was Mr. DOBSON, the Bookſeller. The amount was the price of a ſet of Dobſon's Encyclopedia; about 100 dollars.

COL. WADSWORTH was the Member of Congreſs, whom the young " *Saint*" rebuked for not ſeizing the Britiſh debts.

Koſciuſko.—" Koſciuſko has lately become the object of attack in the miniſterial papers; for what good reaſon does not appear. Koſciuſko has ever been in hoſtility to this country, and it would rather be hard to blame him on account of the glorious though ineffectual reſiſtance which he made to

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one of the moſt profligate and ſcandalous uſurpations recorded in hiſtory. Thoſe who regret the fate of the Poles muſt venerate Koſciuſko."

This article is taken from the *London Courier*.—Stop, *Monſieur Courier*. You are either extremely audacious, or the *Engliſh* prints are accuſtomed to oppoſe but a weak reſiſtance to your efforts in the ſervice of the deteſted Directory. For my part, I am one of thoſe who do not much regret the fate of the *Poles*. I do not think the parcelling out of Poland half ſo great an evil, as would have been its *nominal independence* under a gang of ſubaltern banditti, the agents of *your pay-maſters* at Paris. Far better would it have been for Belgium to have been parcelled out, than for all its wealth to be drained off into France, and its five millions of formerly pious and happy inhabitants to be added to the atheiſtical ſlaves of the new-fledged deſpots of the Luxembourg.

But, allowing that there are men who "regret "the fate of the Poles," pray, *Monſieur Courier*, how does it follow of neceſſity that theſe perſons "muſt "venerate *Koſciuſko*"? Koſciuſko did, indeed, fight, and, for ought I know, gallantly, to prevent the fate, which is regretted. But, Monſieur, has he not fully proved ſince, that it was *for France he was fighting*, and not for the liberties of Poland?

This ſame liberty-warrior fought for American Independence, and ſo diſintereſted was he, that he would not accept of any thing for his ſervices. When, however, he found buſineſs dull in Europe, he returned hither, and received *in caſh* his full proportion of what the American ſoldiers received *in paper*. Diſintereſted, generous Koſciuſko!

When application was made to Congreſs for the *payment* of a debt, which had already been diſcharged in *thanks* and *praiſes*, I told the public, that he was come here merely for the money; and that, the

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the moment it was in his pocket, he would go to France, and become the open enemy of thoſe who had relieved him. Many, very many, *candid* gentlemen ſaid I judged too haſtily; but, behold! in leſs than a year my prediction was completely fulfilled, and the *diſintereſted* Pole is in Paris, where he now cuts a figure amongſt the bittereſt enemies of America and Great Britain, *with the SWORD OF THE WHIG CLUB hanging by his ſide.* Grateful Koſciuſkò! Venerable Koſciuſko!

A Toad-Eater.—A "COUNTRYMAN" aſks me the meaning of the appellation *Toad-eater.* I am not at all ſurpriſed that a *countryman*, who generally lives upon the fruit of his labour, and breathes the ſweet air of real independence, ſhould not underſtand what a *Toad-eater* means; I ſhall, therefore, endeavour to explain its meaning to him.—A *Toad-eater*, odd as it may ſeem, is an animal that walks upon two legs. His chief buſineſs in life is to ſeek his *food*; and, provided he can obtain the end, he is not delicate about the means; but the quality from which he derives his name, is ſtanding in the gap, and *ſwallowing the ſatire* that would otherwiſe be forced down the throat of *a rich knave or fool*, rather than do which there is no man of ſpirit would not ſwallow that moſt loathſome of all creatures, a *toad.* Hence the name of *Toad-eater.*—Toad-eaters are ſeldom found, either in Europe or America, any where but in and about great cities. They are of degrees as different as the ſervices they have to perform. *Fools and rogues of great wealth* generally look for them amongſt the refuſe of the three learned profeſſions, where they can rarely make a bad choice. Caſhiered officers, and players hiſſed from the ſtage, are alſo a moſt excellent kind. But all theſe are above the reach of the ſmall game of ſatire, who are, therefore, obliged to ſeek toad-eaters elſewhere. If a petti-

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fogger, a poetaſter, a quack, or a ſpurious envoy ſtands in need of a toad-eater, he looks for him among the printers of news-papers. Here he is ſure to ſuite himſelf; here, for a ſubſcription, or the inſertion of an advertiſement, he finds mouths of all ſizes, and gullets of all dimenſions, diſtended to receive his *toad*, with as much joy and gratitude as the young ones of the crow receives the carrion from her bill.

Charity!!!—From Claypoole's Paper.—"*Books Selling very Cheap.*—MATTHEW CAREY, propoſing to quit the Bookſelling buſineſs, offers his *Large and Valuable Collection of Books* for ſale, by retail, at a diſcount of twelve and a half per cent. from the uſual prizes. Thoſe who purchaſe conſiderable quantities, ſhall have a further diſcount."

Jan. 19.

Ingratitude of a United Iriſhman.—From the above advertiſement, joined to Carey's deſperate conduct laſt Monday, I was perſuaded he muſt be in abſolute want. When dinner-time came I communicaeed this my perſuaſion to my wife, who immediattly cut half a dozen ſlices out of the tendereſt part of a fine haunch of Veniſon, and ſent it to him, ſmoking hot between two ſoup-plates, with ſome good brown gravy and currant-jelly.——The diſagreeable part of the ſtory remains to be told.—Inſtead of thanks and thouſands of God-Almighty bleſs-yous for the relief, he ſent back one of the plates (after having, I ſuppoſe, devoured the meat), and ordered his meſſenger to break it in my ſhop, which he actually did, to the no ſmall diverſion of the news-carriers.

I do not think it becoming in any one to *boaſt* of the largeſſes he beſtows. I do not *boaſt*; what I did was no more than my duty; nor would the act ever have been thus recorded by me, were it not to contradict

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contradict a report, which I hear is in circulation, that I ſent ſome bits of *raw beef* covered with lumps of *clotted blood*. As to Carey, indeed, *he* might, very likely, miſtake veniſon and currant-jelly for raw beef and blood; but, upon the whole, I cannot help adding this to the thouſands of malicious reports, which have been fabricated to do me an injury, and I therefore look upon it as my duty to do it away.*

Tom Paine, in a letter to the Directory, recommends that if the Engliſh execute Iriſhmen with French commiſſions, that the French ſhould execute ſuch Iriſh as they take with Engliſh commiſſions. Adduces the affair of General Lee, of the American army, to prove the good effect of ſpirit.

This miſcreant yet breathes then?—How the monſter muſt be mortified at the blaſting of his projects and predictions!—His new propoſition is that of a devil, ſuch as he is; but, if it ſhould be adopted, the loyal Iriſh need not care; for *they never fall into the hands of the French*. And, ſhould the villains paſs a decree for putting to death all Iriſhmen with King George's commiſſions, His Majeſty will only have to order all Frenchmen to be put to death, who bear commiſſions under the five-headed monſter; and as he has about *a hundred* of them in his power for every *one* that the French have in theirs, the retaliation would be in his favour. For my part, I ſhould not like to be guillotined: but I ſhould die with very little regret, if I were certain that my death would produce the death of *a hundred* of the miſcreants who have borne commiſſions under the French Directory.

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* In conſequence of this the raving wretch took his couſin before a magiſtrate, and made him take his oath, that a morſel of the meat was not eaten by him!!!

GOOLBAUGH.—

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COOLBAUGH.—The following letter is a curious ſpecimen of Democratic literature and Democratic craft. The fellow, who wrote it, is a trimmer. By the letter it will be ſeen that the Federaliſts took him for a Federaliſt; the Democrats depended on him as a Democrat; he was, therefore, ſupported by both parties, but the reſult has proved that the latter, as uſual, had more cunning than the former.

Sunday Evening September 16th 1788
Smithfield

DEAR SIR

Moſes Chambers Eſqre Agreable to his—Promiſe—to you—called at my houſe in his Way home but onlucky for me I was Not at home until this evening and to my grate Surpriſe he informed me that my friends was In Confution in Eaſton with Reſpect to my Conduct with the Democratic Party I ſaw by your Letter to my Friend Shrawder that there was a Diſſatisfaxion in Eaſton with my friends by Keeping too much Company with the Jackabins but thought It was Intirely Removed ſince I had the pleaſure of Seeing Mr A Patterſon Eſqur but at this Late houre I am informed by my friend Ceambers that all is Left for me to Due is to openly to Declare my Sentaments to the meeting at traxlers which Puts me to Conſiderable troble but I am willing to Due any thing to Satisfy my friends a Report has been Spread that I have been repreſented in your borough by Mr Horn as being in a Secret underſtanding with Each other Now I will Appeal to him if we Ever Ingaged to Each other on any Score with Reſpect to alexions Mr Sitgreaves was talcked of It is true between us and then we was as wide a part in Comparriſon as from here to the anlantick oſhen—all this paſd at my houſe but nothing in Eaſton ware I was Seqected how Can you Seſpect a man that has been Ever

 fathful

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fathful to my truſt and a Sinccer Lover of our Conſtitution and moſt Solomly Declare that I am under No Obligation to the other Party what Ever I have been told that the other Party had Carryd me as one of their Repreſentatives at their meeting the Sincerity of that meeting I Doubting will make Its appearance in the Sequel Mr Roſs called on me on his way home and I uſed him as well as my Cabin would admit of which I thought was my Duty -- But if he was a Committe to wait on me he Sertainly Did Not Execute his miſion or that I took him of So obruply that he only advanced as far as Congriſs I Verry franky told him that I was for Chapman and the ſecond would be ſome federal coarrector I think this is tantamount to what Paſed and further they Never aſkd me for my Inteſt but to Come to the matter in hand Can any man Sopoſe for a moment that a man that has been ſo much attached to our federal government would Change Sides at this Day when I am afraid all the Jacabins will have to Come over Er long I Changling all the wourld that Ever herd me uſe longgage that Denoted any thing Like a Democrat as they are caled the Bearer Mr Heaton is my Neighbour a good federal man Pleaſe to Inform him what you have Done at your meeting I ſhall

be of the Paper I am Sur Yous

JNO COOLBAUGH

JOHN ARNDT Eſqu

Now, laying aſide this man's dupliсity and his rancour againſt the Federal government, what muſt foreigners think of a people who could chooſe ſuch an illiterate fellow to make laws to bind them and their children? He who wrote this deſpicable ſcrawl, it muſt be evident to every one, is incapable, not only of framing, but of comprehending a law. He muſt ſtand in need of the advice of his neighbour,

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bour, to know how to obey the laws after he has given his voice in making them. This is another inſtance of the ridiculouſneſs of the ſyſtem of *univerſal ſuffrage*. It will never be well with America, 'till ſome proportion of *property* is required as a qualification to vote at elections.

FEBRUARY, 1799.

The diſintereſted Koſciuſko.—A Paris Paper of November 21, has the following letter from Koſciuſko to the Emperor of Ruſſia.

Sire, I profit of the firſt moment of the Liberty I enjoy under the *protecting laws* of the *greateſt* and *moſt generous* nation, to return you the preſents that your apparent bounty and the atrocity of your miniſters forced me to accept. If I do wrong, Sire, attribute it only to the irreſiſtible force of the attachment which I bear for my compatriots (companions in misfortunes), and the hope of yet ſerving my country. Yes, I repeat it, Sire, and I am deſirous of making to you the declaration; your heart appeared to me to be touched at my diſaſtrous ſituation; but your miniſters and their ſatellites have not conducted themſelves to me according to your wiſhes. Should they attempt to impute to my free will a meaſure they compelled me to take, I develope to you, and to all men who know the value of honor, their violence and perfidy; and that it will be to them only you owe the publication of their crimes

Receive, Sire, the teſtimonies of my reſpect.

(Signed) KOSCIUSKO.

Now, here is an impudent fellow! He very willingly received preſents from the Emperor and his miniſters; he comes afterwards, pleads poverty, and receives thouſands of dollars from the ill-judging liberality

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liberality of the American Congreſs; having pocketed this, he goes to France, whence he *affects* to return (he will never return any of them) the preſents received from the Emperor of Ruſſia, and boaſts of the *protecting laws* of the moſt watchful, moſt jealous deſpotiſm, that ever human beings breathed under. Americans, remember I told you, that this fellow *was no friend of yours*, and you now ſee him extolling the *generoſity* of *your enemy*, the generoſity of that enemy, by whom, he well knows, you have been robbed of twenty or thirty millions of dollars! This is an inſtance of the friendſhip of thoſe *pretended patriots*; theſe *citizens of the world*.

It is very evident that Koſciuſko is a mere tool in the hands of the Directory; juſt as Stone and Tandy and the reſt of the traitors are. He is, in fact, the "Spurious Envoy" from Poland. The French Sultans have a gang of theſe miſcreants about their heels; with whom they conſult with reſpect to the intrigues to be employed againſt their reſpective countries.—I believe there is no American *Envoy* ſent *near* the Grand Republic at preſent; but Citizen Joel Barlow, the pſalm-ſinger, appears to be the *Chargé d'Affaires*.

To JOHN TAYLOR, *the great Patriot of Virginia.*

CITIZEN TAYLOR,

I take the liberty to approach you with the republication of a ſmall work, which I have juſt received from England. It is a record of the glorious deeds of a band of patriots of ancient days. You will find that they were juſt the ſame rough, honeſt, brave, and liberty-loving ſouls as thoſe of the preſent time; that, whether in their motives, their conduct, their principles, or their manners, the democrats of the *enlightened eighteenth century* are no more than imitators of thoſe of the *thirteenth*; that *Virginia* is but another

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another *Beauvoiſin*; and that the famous *John Taylor* is no more than an humble follower of the *Good Man Jaques*.

At the ſame time, however, that I ſay this, I beg to be underſtood as not wiſhing to leſſen the merits of you or your aſſociates, or to deprive you of thoſe honours and rewards that are certainly your due. That your followers may live to experience the effects of enliſting under your banners, and that, like your great predeceſſor, you may finally receive the *crown* which your patriotic endeavours ſo juſtly deſerve, is the ſincere prayer of

PETER PORCUPINE.

An Hiſtory of the Jaquerie in France, in the Year 1358, with an Account of their horrid Cruelties and final Extirpation; taken from Barnes's Hiſtory of the moſt victorious Monarch Edward III.

"The mean while, as if all the vials of God's wrath were now to be poured out all together upon the unhappy King John's people, there aroſe in France another plague, more terrible than any hitherto mentioned. For whether on occaſion of the oppreſſion of the great men, or the intolerable preſumption of the poor, ſoon after the deliverance of Charles, King of Navarre, a ſort of raſcally clowns began their ſeditious aſſemblies in Beauvoiſin and Brie, about Soiſſons, and the river of Marne, which threatened a total deſtruction to all the nobility and gentry of France. For they proved juſt ſuch levellers, as, ſome twenty-three years after, in the days of King Richard II. Wat Tyler, and Jack Straw were here in England.

"At firſt they were not paſſing an hundred, or ſuch a matter, who gathering together out of the little villages, without any head or captain, and being met ſomewhere in Beauvoiſin, ſaid among themſelves, 'How theſe nobles, knights, eſquires, and

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and gentlemen were a ſhame and burden to the land, and that it would be as laudable to deſtroy them for their villainy, as profitable for their wealth.' And they all cried out it was true, and ſaid with one voice, 'A ſhame on him that doth not his beſt to root out all the gentlemen of the land.' Being thus ſuddenly gathered and agreed, without either captain or weapons, except what their own ungodly madneſs armed them with, as prongs, ſtaves, and the like; they went forthwith to a knight's houſe hard by, which having broken up, they ſlew him and his lady, and all his children, great and ſmall, and fired the houſe upon them; which done, they proceeded to another houſe, a caſtle, where they took the captain thereof, a knight, and bound him faſt to a ſtake, and raviſhed his wife and daughter before his face, and then ſlew the lady and her daughter, and the reſt of his children; and laſtly, tormented the knight himſelf to death, and burnt and beat down the caſtle, the like whereof they did to ſeveral other caſtles, and gentlemens' houſes. And ſtill as they went on, they increaſed like a rolling ſnow-ball; ſo that preſently they were grown to above 6000 in number, for all ungracious villains like themſelves fell to them. Wherefore all the gentlemen about the country, with their wives and children, fled away before them, ten or twenty leagues off, for their better ſecurity, leaving both their houſes and goods at the diſcretion of theſe baſe raſcals.

" Thus did this diſorderly multitude range about, robbing and burning of houſes, palaces, and manſions, murdering and tormenting all gentlemen they could lay their hands on, and raviſhing young ladies and gentlewomen, and committing ſuch horrid villanies as can hardly be imagined. And he of their company who was moſt daring and exquiſite in cruelty and wickedneſs, had the higheſt eſteem amongſt

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amongſt them. At firſt they had no head to follow or obey, but now there was found amongſt them one Jaques of Clermont, in Beauvoiſin, who was ſo diabolically excellent at theſe damnable inventions of doing miſchief, that, as the moſt ungracious of all, they choſe him for their king and captain, named him Jaques the Good Man: and thence their whole tribe obtained to be called the Jaquiere.

"This incarnate devil of a king having firſt cruelly ſlain a noble knight of thoſe parts, cauſed him to be ſpitted and roaſted at a fire, in ſight of the lady his wife and children, and after that ten or a dozen had in a moſt ſhameful manner violated the lady, they compelled her to eat her huſband's fleſh, and then put to death both her and her children. And at this rate they raged and prevailed in Beauvoiſin, about Corbie, Amiens, and Mondidier, deſtroying and burning more than three-ſcore good houſes and caſtles. And at the ſame time the like fury ſeized the peaſants and other villainous wretches in Brie and Artois, but eſpecially in Brie, ſo that all the ladies, knights, and eſquires of thoſe parts were fain to fly away to Meaux, on the Marne, for their defence. And among them were the Ducheſs of Normandy and the Ducheſs of Orleans, the one ſiſter-in-law, and the other daughter-in-law to King John, with ſeveral other ladies and gentlemen, all who were obliged to fly thither for preſervation of their lives and honours. And all the country on each ſide the Marne, as between Paris and Noyon, and about Soiſſons and Creſſy en Valois, and on the other ſide as far as Montmiriel and Eſpernay, was overrun by theſe wretched creatures; and more than an hundred caſtles and ſtrong edifices, belonging to the nobility and gentry, utterly defaced and ruined. Wherefore the gentlemen of Beauvoiſin, Corbois, and Vermandois, being alarmed at the horrible outrage of theſe people, ſent to their friends in Flanders,

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Flanders, Hainault, Brabant, and Luxemburgh, for their aſſiſtance. Whereupon being ſpeedily reinforced, they took courage and rode about the country in ſtrong bodies, and wherever they met with theſe ungracious levellers, they ſlew them without mercy, and hanged them on the trees in cluſters; and ſurely it was high time to take them up, for if they had been all joined together, they had made above a *hundred thouſand* men. When they were taken and queſtioned why they did ſuch diabolical deeds, they had nothing to ſay, *but that they could not help it, they only did as they ſaw others do; it being their deſign to deſtroy all the nobles and gentlemen in the world.*

" One day the King of Navarre ſlew of theſe people about 3000, near Clermont, in Beauvoiſin; and at the ſame time there came out of Pruſſia from the holy war, Gaſton Phœbus, Earl of Foix, and his couſin, John Greilly, Lord of Kendale and Benanges, and knight of the garter, commonly called the Captal of Buche, a true and conſtant lover of the Engliſh nation. When the truce was taken between the realms, this noble and valiant gentleman, with the Lord Walter Fauconberg, an Engliſh baron, and ſeveral others, as well French and Gaſcogner, as Engliſh, went into Pruſſia to fight againſt the enemies of the Chriſtian religion, and being now upon their return, on the borders of France, they heard of the great havoc theſe unhappy multitudes made among the nobility; and that the Ducheſs of Normandy, and the Duke of Orleans, and his ducheſs, with more than three hundred other ladies and gentlewomen, were, in great fear, fled into the city of Meaux for refuge. Where the aforeſaid lords agreed to go and comfort theſe ladies, and to offer their lives in their ſervice; for though the Captal and other Engliſh lords were there, yet the truce being now between the two kings, they might ſafely ride through that kingdom; and beſides, the cauſe itſelf

itſelf was able to juſtify them, all the country ſtanding in need of ſuch protectors. They were in all threeſcore moſt accompliſhed of arms, lords and knights, beſides their eſquires and ſervants, all who were well provided for war; and being come in time to Meaux, they were heartily welcome to the Duke of Orleans, and the ladies with him; and immediately the French lords and gentlemen thereabouts joined them.

"The meanwhile the raſcals of the Jaquerie hearing what a number of ladies and gentlemen, and noblemens' children, were gathered together in Meaux, taking unto them the rebels of Valois, and ſome of the commons of Paris, marched thither as to a certain prize. Upon their firſt ſetting forth, they were about nine thouſand, and every day they increaſed as they paſſed on, till they came to Meaux, the commons of which city, out of fear, as they pretended, or rather in connivance at their wickedneſs, ſet open their gates, and gave them leave to enter. Immediately all the ſtreets were full of them, even to the market-place, where all the nobles, knights, and ladies were lodged in a ſtrong houſe, environed by the river of Marne.

"Yet, notwithſtanding the preſence of theſe valiant knights, when the ladies ſaw ſuch multitudes of the rabble coming againſt them, they were in an heavy taking for doubt of their lives and honour. But at that inſtant the Earl of Foix, the Lord John Greilly, the Lord Fauconberg, and their company, being all gallantly mounted, rode toward the gate that looks to the market-place, and ſallied forth in warlike order, ſetting fiercely upon the levellers, who were but indifferently armed, and held but little array, being more ignorant in the arts of war than in the practice of brutiſh cruelty. Beſides the three lords aforeſaid, there was alſo the Duke of Orleans with his banner, and their whole number exceeding not

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not 500, but they were all well armed, expert, and gallant men, and led on by captains of high courage and conduct; wherefore, when this raſcally rabble ſaw theſe warriors all ſhining in armour, ſallying forth on their barbed horſes ready to defend the place, the foremoſt of them gave back in great confuſion, and the gentlemen fell in upon them with ſwords, ſpears, and battle axes. But when the barbarous clowns felt and ſaw the mighty ſtrokes they gave, and how nothing they had could reſiſt them, they all began to turn their backs, and for haſte fell foul upon one another. Then all the noblemen, having quitted the barriers and won the head of the ſtreet, ruſhed forth in good martial order, and flew in with great fury among the thickeſt of their enemies, whom they beat down by heaps, and ſlew them like beaſts, driving them before their faces ſo haſtily, that hundreds of them leapt into the river. In ſhort, they ſlew of them that day more than 7000, and not one of them had eſcaped, but that the victors were ſo wearied with the execution, that they were not able to follow the chaſe, and pick them from all parts where they were ſcattered. Now at laſt, when all theſe men of arms were returned to the town, with one conſent they ſet it on fire, and burnt it to the ground, and all the commons of the town whom they could incloſe therein, becauſe they had ſo perfidiouſly taken part with the Jaquerie, and let them in at their gates. Their captain, Jaques, the Good Man, being there taken alive, was ſent to the *Dauphin*, who, underſtanding that he had aſſumed the name of a king, cauſed him to be crowned with a trivet, or the three-legged frame of an iron ſkillet, red hot, and ſo to be hanged, in requital of all his barbarous cruelties.

"After this notable diſcomfiture, and the terrible example done at Meaux, they were never able to make any conſiderable head again; for the young Lord

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Lord Ingelram de Courcy, a valiant baron both of England and France, with certain flying troops of both nations, ſcoured about through all the country; and ſtill, as faſt as he could pick them up, he put them to death without pity."

This hiſtory of the patriots of the thirteenth century, is publiſhed "to ſhew the people of England, "that the French peaſantry have always been the "ſame brutal creatures, when unreſtrained by law." But, with all due ſubmiſſion to the better underſtanding of this ſagacious bookſeller, I think the hiſtory is more valuable as an *example* to the *nobility and gentry of the preſent age*.. If, in the year 1790, there had been a *Gaſton de Foix*, a *Baron de Fauconberg* a young *Lord Ingleram de Courcy*, and a *Dauphin* Charles, we never ſhould have ſeen La Fayette leading his king and queen captive; we never ſhould have ſeen *Marat* a legiſlator; we never ſhould have heard of the *reign of Robeſpierre*, or of that of the Five-headed Monſter.—"But, the age of *Chivalry* was "gone;" the prop was mouldered away, the palace fell, and the dirt covered it.

Should the *Jaquerie of Virginia* proceed in their patriotic labours, I am much afraid the *ancient dominion*, would be very deficient in *Knights and Eſquires*. The diſtreſſed damſels would, I fear, find the lords of the domain engaged at the gambling tables, or ſunk down in the arms of their *property*. The knights of the thirteenth century were the *captives of their miſtreſſes*; in the enlightened eighteenth century the relationſhip is reverſed, the miſtreſſes are *captives of the knights*.

"A bill was preſented, and read in the North Carolina aſſembly, inflicting an heavy fine on any white man having connection with any negro or woman of colour, and in default of payment thereof on conviction, corporal puniſhment; but this bill, ſo

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ſo much more neceſſary and honorable to nature was thrown out."

This law muſt have been propoſed by ſome enemy to the Southern States. Such a meaſure would put almoſt a total ſtop to population in thoſe enlightened countries. And beſides, it is quite contrary to every principle of liberty, to cultivating, improving, and making uſe of his *property*, in any manner he pleaſes.—The propoſition muſt have ariſen from *ariſtocratic* notions; from thoſe notions of different ranks amongſt men, which *pure republicaniſm* ſo pointedly diſavows.

United Iriſh Riot.—When Noah Webſter and *thouſands of others*, whoſe rancour againſt Great Britain ſwallowed up every other conſideration, were exclaiming againſt the oppreſſion exerciſed by that nation over the Iriſh; when they were ſhedding hypocritical tears for the "oppreſſed peaſantry of Ire-"land," and applauding their "noble exertions in "the cauſe of freedom;" when they were thus giving all their countenance, and all the encouragement in their power, to that nefarious combination denominated the *Iriſh Union*, they little imagined that the principles, and even the members of that union would one day be a terror and a torment to America. *That day is now come;* and, what muſt greatly add to the mortification of the quandum friends of the Iriſh malcontents, is, it is come *after Ireland is reſtored to order and happineſs.* Thus far by way of preface.

Laſt Sunday four men, to wit, *Reynolds* (commonly called *Doctor* Reynolds); *Duane*, Mother Bache's editor; one *Moore*, lately from Ireland; *Rice*, a clerk; and *Cummens*, a journeyman Printer, were apprehended and taken before Robert Wharton, Eſq. mayor of the city, for a RIOT, the ſcene

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of which was at the Roman Catholic Church, in *Fourth ſtreet*.

During divine ſervice ſome of them went and ſtuck up placards on the walls to the following purport:

"The natives of *Ireland* who worſhip at this "Church, are requeſted to remain in the yard after "Divine ſervice, until they have affixed their names "to a memorial for the *repeal* of the *Alien Bill*."

The truſtees and ſome of the congregation pulled down theſe placards; they were ſtuck up again, and again pulled down. The prieſt, who was informed of the matter, gave directions that the congregation ſhould be apprized of it, in order that they might be prepared, ſhould a riot take place.—When the church broke up, a man was perceived ſtanding on a tomb-ſtone, haranguing ſome twenty or thirty perſons, ſome of whom had already ſigned a paper lying on the tomb-ſtone. This órator and his group were diſperſed by the truſtees. In the meanwhile, *Reynolds*, who was placed at the eaſt end of the church, and who had been ordered out, drew a piſtol, and preſented it at the breaſt of one of the congregation. It was forced from him, and he was taken into cuſtody along with the others.

While the priſoners were before the mayor, a ſcene took place, which, I am bold to ſay, was never equalled; no, not even in republican France.

The Mayor was engaged in taking the recognizances, when in ruſhed *M'Kean*, the *Democratic Judge*, violently agitated with paſſion. In an imperious and inſolent tone he aſked the Mayor, what all this *fuſs* was about? The Mayor began to explain the affair to him. When the Judge had liſtened to him for ſome time, he replied, *that the men might take their hats and go home*. He made ſeveral other very daring and inſolent remarks.

A gen-

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A gentleman, who was preſent, went up to *M'Kean*, and aſked him what he meant by aſſerting that the priſoners might *go away home?* He denied having ſaid ſo; the gentleman called on the bye-ſtanders as witneſſes, who declared *that he did ſay ſo.* Some time after this he went out of the Mayor's houſe.

Now, I call upon my readers; upon men who have been uſed to look upon the laws as ſacred, and upon the channel of juſtice as pure and uninterrupted; I call upon ſuch men to expreſs their indignation, their abhorrence, at the outrageous conduct of this *Judge.*

M'Kean, in his charge againſt me, in order to excite a horror of my offence in the minds of the Grand Jury, took infinite pains to *heighten the reſpect due to magiſtrates*, and reminded them of the power of a ſingle juſtice of the peace to bind over or impriſon any one who ſhould "ſpeak words of con-"tempt againſt a juſtice of the peace or mayor, "even *though ſuch juſtice or mayor were not then in* "*the execution of his office.*" And this is the very man, who now goes, while the mayor of the city is in the actual execution of his office, and not only "ſpeaks words of *contempt* againſt him;" but *interferes* in the execution of his office, attempts *to defend the conduct of the rioters*, and daringly aſſerts, that *they may take their hats and go home*, while they ſtand there before the mayor, in cuſtody of his conſtables, and under his warrant!!!

What would the people of England—but why do I appeal to a free nation?—what would the people of Turkey or of Algiers ſay, to ſuch barefaced outrageous conduct in a man, who ſtands at the head of thoſe, whoſe office it is to adminiſter *juſtice?*

That the Mayor did not commit to jail this contemptuous intruder, cannot be aſcribed to his want of *power*, nor can it, by thoſe who know his character, be aſcribed to want of *ſpirit.* Some perſons

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aſcribed it to his reſpect to the *age* of the offender; but accompanied with ſuch behaviour, age ceaſes to be reſpectable in the eyes of every one but an ideot. No; the Mayor certainly was ſtruck with the enormity of the offence; and he undoubtedly thought, that one ſtep more ſerious than a commitment; and more *ſalutary* and *laſting* in its effects ought to be taken. That ſuch will prove to have been the cauſe of his apparent lenity, I feel the ſtrongeſt aſſurance. It is *impoſſible*, abſolutely impoſſible, that ſuch an outrage of every thing ſacred ſhould go unpuniſhed; if it does, farewell to even the *hope* of preſerving any thing like freedom in Pennſylvania.

Judge M'Kean.—" His Honor," the " Doctor of " Laws, &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c." does certainly feel ſomewhat alarmed on account of his conduct on Sunday laſt; and, I truſt in God, and in the ſpirit of the Philadelphians, that his alarm is not groundleſs. If the outrage committed by him at the Mayor's houſe is ſuffered to eſcape without puniſhment, there is no ſuch thing as juſtice in Pennſylvania, and without *juſtice*, ſecurity for either perſon or property cannot exiſt.

The groſs inſult offered to the Mayor by M'Kean, as mentioned in yeſterday's paper, ſuch a daring attempt to impede the cauſe of juſtice, muſt rouſe (indeed it has rouſed) the indignation of every man who has the leaſt regard for the credit of his country. The *independence* of *juries* and of *magiſtrates* is the grand characteriſtic marks of all governments which breathe the ſpirit of the Engliſh law. It is, indeed, that *alone* which makes thoſe governments any thing better than the governments of Ruſſia, Pruſſia, Turkey, or Spain. That *independence* is the only ſecurity againſt tyrants high in office, and againſt low-bred ruffian mobs; and that *independence Judge M'Kean has attempted to deſtroy.*

But

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But his conduct before the Mayor deserves attention in another point of view. Interfering with the chief magistrate of the city; interrupting and insulting him in the actual execution of his office; telling him he was actuated by *party motives*; and asserting that the rioters, who stood prisoners under his warrant, might take their hats and go home; all this is, indeed, most scandalous and criminal, but it is not seen in its proper light till its *effects* are taken into the view.

The prisoners had been guilty of a most daring breach of the laws both of God and man; yet, notwithstanding this, they saw their conduct justified by the *Chief Justice* of the state, *by the very man whom they well knew was to preside at their trial!* What an encouragement! They could entertain no dread of coming before a Judge, who could so far get the better of shame and of fear as to espouse their cause in the teeth of the magistrate by whom they were apprehended.

And what effect, think you, must such conduct in a Chief Justice have on the villains, who are now meditating mischief? Will they not reason thus?—"Let us be bold; we have nothing to fear; for, "even in case of being detected and apprehended, "the Judge, *before whom we must finally be tried*, has "openly espoused the cause of our companions." If this reasoning would be correct, and that it would I think no one will deny, ought such a Judge still to sit on the bench? Ought any judge to sit on the bench, when the knowledge of his sitting there operates as an encouragement to riot, and to all its scandalous and horrid consequences? The law, in the hands of such a judge, in place of being the terror, becomes the mockery of *evil doers*, and a terror to the *innocent* only.

It is mentioned of the Democratic Judge, and it ought never to be forgotten, that the day after the grand

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grand jury had returned his bill of indictment againſt me, *ignoramus*, he obſerved in open court, that there was a *recent inſtance* of a grand jury's not *doing their duty*; as if the *duty* of a grand jury conſiſted ſolely in *finding* bills. This was a moſt odious inſinuation. The Engliſh reviewers, in noticing this part of the Democratic judge's conduct, break out in a ſtrain of reprobation, ſuch as they ſeldom give way to, and call upon the people of England *to bleſs God that they are not republicans.* Thus has the behavior of this man, not only ſunk the ſtate of Pennſylvania, but the whole American nation, and all republics, in the eyes of a conſiderable portion of the world. The *juſtice* of this opinion of foreigners will, perhaps, be called in queſtion: It will be ſaid, that they ought not to judge of the whole American people from the conduct of *one man.* Were this *one man* a private citizen, I ſhould allow this reaſoning to be correct; but it is known that he was a *judge*, the *Chief Judge* of the firſt ſtate in the union; and it is known alſo that *he is ſtill a Judge.* No nation is chargeable with the deeds of their rulers, unleſs thoſe deeds *receive its ſanction*, either by open approbation or ſilent acquieſcence, and then it is fairly chargeable with them all. Generous foreigners may, indeed, be more inclined to pity than to cenſure ſuch a nation; but, we ſhould well remember, that the *pity* which is beſtowed on nations, borders very nearly on *contempt.*

Napper Tandy at Rutland.—"Now's the time for "mirth and glee;" *fun* is become the order of the day, and therefore I truſt my readers will look upon the following article as exceedingly well timed. It is taken from a Dublin paper, and contains an account of the gallant Napper's landing at, and his retreat from, the little town of Rutland in Ireland.

"Know,

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"Know, Europe, that after a ſix years abſence, devoted to freedom, Citizen TANDY has reviſited his native land: glorious France, which can ſend Buonaparte to Alexandria, and Tandy to Rutland!

"A national corvette wafted to his native ſhore the returning patriot: an act of parliament paſſed to call the hero to his trial: "try me in the field of "battle," ſaid the hero, pulling up his breeches.

"The national corvette hoiſted Engliſh colours, and a pilot boat came on board to perform the offices of friendſhip. 'I am come,' ſaid Tandy to the pilots, 'to proclaim freedom to Ireland.' The national corvette hoiſted the tri-coloured flag.—'You are my priſoners,' ſaid the maſter of the corvette to the pilots; 'pilot me into your harbour at 'your peril.'—The gracious preſence of Citizen Tandy calmed the fears of the pilots; the wiſhes of the friends of freedom wafted the boat to the ſhore. ''Twere beſt to ſecure a retreat,' ſaid the 'prudent citizen. The pilots were handcuffed, and four cuiraſſiers remained to guard the barge.

"The citizen—the general—Tandy lands:—Pencils of Titian or of Rubens, can you do juſtice to his auſpicious and majeſtic port! See the downcaſt melancholy of one of his eyes, looking on his proſtrate country, while the other, turned from the diſgraceful picture, looks up to the genius of liberty for his protection! Mark his tremulous head! his quivering lip! his creſt erect! his ſtep of enterprize! —Huſhed be all meaner ſounds, the general ſpeaks:

'Order breakfaſt at the inn,' were the firſt ſimple expreſſions which he uttered. An aid-de-camp haſtened to obey the welcome order: but wherefore ſtops the general?—dreadful enquiry—'The ſign of 'the king's arms!' ſaid the patriot—'I diſdain to 'enter it; conduct me to another.' Other there was none; the ſign was removed, and the condeſcending general entered the room.

"The

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" The oſtler came out to take the horſes: 'We 'have no horſes yet, citizen,' ſaid the general's aid-de-camp; 'we are diſmounted cavalry.' '*Beder-ſhein*, ſaid the oſtler.

" Breakfaſt was announced, and breakfaſt was eaten; five full-grown turkeys paid the chearful tribute of their eggs to welcome the hero to the ſoil from whence he ſprung; a ſixth refuſed; the hero was in a rage; three mutton kidneys appeaſed his ſtomach.

'Lead me to the town-hall,' ſaid the general, after breakfaſt. 'We have no town-hall, ſaid the fiſhermen of Rutland. The benign general ſmiled compaſſion on the unenlightened fiſhermen. And now beneath the free expanſe of univerſal Heaven, a tribune was erected in the market-place; the machine on which the victims of an oppreſſive ariſtocracy had once been forced to ſtand, now miniſtered in its turn to the cauſe of liberty; on this was erected the tribune, and the citizen general proceeded to unfold his commiſſion; Achilles at the breakfaſt, he was Cæſar in the tribune:

'Liberty! (the citizen hummed to clear his voice.)

'Fraternity! (hum.)—Equality! (hum.)

'The Iriſh Union'—(great hum, after which his voice reſumed its wonted ſweetneſs, and he proceeded as follows:)

'You ſee before you, Citizens, Napper Tandy, 'of the Emerald Iſle, delegated by the Great Na-'tion, to invite you to freedom. France, which has 'given conſequence to Holland, and liberty to Swit-'zerland, will ſhew equal kindneſs to the Iriſh Union. 'You will find her, my fellow citizens, liberal in 'her profeſſions, and tenacious of property. Her 'marine will protect your trade as well as her own. 'The tribute ſhe demands of you will be but ſmall, 'the glory to which ſhe will conduct your armies

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'immenſe. The Great Nation will fraternize with 'Ireland, and Ireland ſhall fight the battles of the 'Great Nation. Her cauſe and your cauſe is the 'ſame cauſe, and in your country will ſhe war againſt 'the common enemy. Four campaigns of glorious 'war in Ireland, will lay England at the feet of 'France, and then ſhall Ireland flouriſh, protected 'by the arms and the friendſhip of the generous 'conquerors of Britain.

'A choſen band of her heroes already has landed 'in our iſland, and I am come now a meſſenger to 'announce that another expedition is preparing. 'There is no obſtacle but the Britiſh fleet, which 'blocks up the friends of freedom in the ports of 'France. When ſome auſpicious moment ſhall lull 'the adverſary to ſleep, then you may expect, if the 'winds and waves are favourable, to ſee the flag of 'liberty on your coaſts. You will no doubt impart 'to theſe liberal foreigners the redundant produce 'of your land, and you will receive from them in 'return, the emancipation we have ſo much at heart. 'Your taxes France will condeſcend to regulate; 'your payments to a tyrannical government ſhall be 'no more—for your government will be that of 'France.

'France, citizens, aboliſhed monarchial and ec- 'cleſiaſtical tyranny. She has depoſed the pope and 'his uſurpations.' (Here murmurs among the crowd ſhewed the orator he was in the wrong box.) 'I do 'not ſay, (ſaid the inſinuating general) 'that ſhe has 'depoſed the pope—She has only taken his holineſs 'into her protection and that of her armies. She 'has aboliſhed the idle folly of a ſabbath.' (Mur- murs in another part of the crowd ſhewed the ge- neral that he had put his foot in it again.) 'I do 'not ſay,' ſaid the ſapient general, 'that ſhe has 'aboliſhed the ſabbath, but Sunday now in France 'is on a different day of the week from what it was 'formerly.'

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'formerly.' (The general felt he was on tickliſh ground, and therefore wiſely drew towards his concluſion. 'In ſhort,' ſaid he, 'France is the land 'of Reformation, and united Ireland ſhall follow 'its ſteps.'

'I come to you,' ſaid he, 'more familiarly (for 'this part was written extempore) with but ſmall 'force—for I come to join the troops which landed 'with Humbert. I come, not indeed to reinforce 'his army, for I ſuppoſe he did not want——.'

Here the ſound of an horn for a moment ſtruck alarm into the ſoul of Napper; the blood retired from its outpoſts to its citadel; 'twas not fear, 'twas not ſurpriſe; the glow of priſtine courage was ſoon reſtored, for Napper now found the cauſe was not the approach of an army, but the arrival of the poſt-boy.

The General, for the Rights of Man permitted it, laid hands on the public vehicles of intelligence: He ſnatched an haſty glance at the Evening Poſt: 'Glorious news, my heroes,' ſaid he, 'Humbert 'and Sarazin are *arrived in Dublin!* Benefactors of 'the world, your ſucceſs is commenſurate to your 'merits! Haſte we, my friends, to follow them in 'the career of glory!'—'Come,' ſaid the elated general, 'let's now examine the detail.'——Tri-coloured flag of the great nation interpoſe the beams of thy majeſty! Clouds of the Atlantic obſcure the horizon! Genius of the union blot out the dire detail!—He reads—he ſwears—he ſtammers:—'They 'are *all priſoners*, by Jaſes!' His ſoul felt for his allies, it felt for himſelf! 'Let's return to the Cor-'vette,' ſaid the feeling general faintly. 'I expected 'no better,' ſaid the maſter of the Corvette. 'But 'how ſhall we get back?' ſaid Napper: "As well 'as we can,' ſaid the maſter of the Corvette.

'And ſo, we were to furniſh them with horſes,' ſaid the oſtler of the inn. 'He ought to be hanged 'for robbing the Mail,' ſaid the poſt-boy. The

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fiſhermen of Rutland ſay 'they did not underſtand 'a word of his outlandiſh lingo;' the women of Rutland ſay, 'he was an ugly ſon of a bitch of 'a general.'

Lyon.—This infamous and beaſtly wretch, who was laſt year guilty of ſpitting in a member's face, has, ſince, been convicted and impriſoned ſix months in the jail of the ſtate of Vermont.

Nevertheleſs the free and enlightened people of that ſtate re-elected him, while he was in jail.—Soon after this man of ſlobber took his ſeat, MR. BAYARD roſe, and made the following reſolution;

"Reſolved, That Matthew Lyon, a member of this houſe, having been convicted of being a notorious and ſeditious perſon, and of a depraved mind, and wicked and diabolical diſpoſition, and of wickedly, deceitfully, and maliciouſly contriving to defame the government of the United States, and of having with intent and deſign to defame the government of the United States, and John Adams, the Preſident of the United States, and to bring the ſaid government and Preſident into contempt and diſrepute, and with intent and deſign to excite againſt the ſaid government and Preſident the hatred of the good People of the United States, and to ſtir up ſedition, in the United States, wickedly, knowingly, and maliciouſly written and publiſhed certain ſcandalous and ſeditious writings or libels, BE THEREFORE EXPELLED THIS HOUSE."

The reſolution was oppoſed by *Gallatin* and *Nicholas*, and, upon being put to the vote, there appeared 49 for it, and 45 againſt it. It was, of courſe, loſt, becauſe, to expel a member, it is neceſſary that *two-thirds* of the members preſent concur in the expulſion.

Lyon looks remarkably well for a gentleman juſt out of jail.—This man's *re-election*, while confined as a criminal, is a new and ſtriking proof of the excellence

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cellence of the ſyſtem of *univerſal ſuffrage*, and muſt convince every one, except a perverſe royaliſt, that the *American government* is, as M'Lang ſays, "*the only lawful government on earth.*"—Happy muſt the nation be where it is but a ſingle ſtep from the *dungeon* to the *Legiſlature!* Well might the pathetic Mr. Murray (ſpeaking on the old alien law) expreſs his fears, that the influx of foreigners would "contaminate the *purity* and *ſimplicity* of the American "character."

MARCH, 1799.

Proceedings during the Seſſion of Congreſs, which commenced on the 8th of December, 1798, and ended on the 3d of March, 1799.

The Proceedings of this Seſſion of the Congreſs were marked by indeciſion and inconſiſtency. MR. ADAMS ſeems to have loſt his ſpirit preciſely at the time when that of the people was rouſed to its higeſt pitch. During the ſummer and autumn of 1798, the nation was boiling with rage againſt France. This rage was damped by the ſpeech at the opening of the enſuing ſeſſion, and it never afterwards kindled. It does not comport with my plan to inſert the *debates* of the ſeſſion. The Speech, and the principal reports made to the Congreſs, is all that I think worthy of being recorded in this work.

SPEECH.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and
Gentlemen of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

WHILE with reverence and reſignation we contemplate the diſpenſations of Divine Providence, in the alarming and deſtructive peſtilence, with which, ſeveral of our cities and towns have been viſited, there is cauſe for gratitude and mutual congratulations,

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tions, that the malady has diſappeared, and that we are again permitted to aſſemble in ſafety, at the Seat of Government, for the diſcharge of our important duties. But when we reflect that this fatal diſorder has, within a few years, made repeated ravages in ſome of our principal ſea-ports, and with increaſed malignancy, and when we conſider the magnitude of the evils, ariſing from the interruption of public and private buſineſs, whereby the national intereſts are deeply affected; I think it my duty to invite the legiſlature of the Union to examine the expediency of eſtabliſhing ſuitable regulation, in aid of the health laws of the reſpective ſtates; for theſe being formed on the idea, that contagious ſickneſs may be communicated through the channels of commerce, there ſeems to be a neceſſity, that Congreſs, who alone can regulate trade, ſhould frame a ſyſtem, which, while it may tend to preſerve the general health, may be compatible with their intereſts or commerce, and the ſafety of the revenue.

While we think on this calamity, and ſympathize with the immediate ſufferers, we have abundant reaſon to preſent to the Supreme Being our annual oblations of gratitude for a liberal participation in the ordinary bleſſings of his providence. To the uſual ſubjects of gratitude, I cannot omit to add one of the firſt importance to our well-being and ſafety: I mean that ſpirit which has ariſen in our country, againſt the menaces and aggreſſion of a Foreign Nation.—A manly ſenſe of National Honor, Dignity, and Independence has appeared, which, if encouraged and invigorated by every branch of the government, will enable us to view, undiſmayed, the enterprizes of any foreign power, and become the ſure foundation of national proſperity and glory.

The courſe of the tranſactions in relation to the United States and France, which have come to my knowledge, during your receſs, will be made the ſubject of a future communication. That communication

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nication will confirm the ultimate failure of the meaſures which have been taken by the government of the United States towards an amicable adjuſtment of difference with that power. You will at the ſame time perceive, that the French government appears ſolicitous to impreſs the opinion, that it is averſe to a rupture with this country, and that it has, in a qualified manner, declared itſelf willing to receive a miniſter from the United States, for the purpoſe of reſtoring a good underſtanding. It is unfortunate for profeſſions of this kind, that they ſhould be expreſſed in terms which may countenance the inadmiſſible pretenſion of a right to preſcribe the qualifications which a miniſter from the United States ſhould poſſeſs, and that while France in aſſerting the exiſtence of a diſpoſition on her part to conciliate with ſincerity the differences which have ariſen, the ſincerity of a like diſpoſition on the part of the United States, of which ſo many demonſtrative proofs have been given; ſhould even be indirectly queſtioned. It is alſo worthy of obſervation, that the decree of the directory alledged to be intended to reſtrain the depredations of French cruiſers on our commerce, has not given, and cannot give, any relief; it enjoins them to conform to all the laws of France relative to cruiſing and prizes, while theſe laws are, themſelves, the ſources of the depredations of which we have ſo long, ſo juſtly, and ſo fruitleſsly complained.

The law of France, enacted in January laſt, which ſubjects to capture and condemnation neutral veſſels and their cargoes, if any portion of the latter are of Britiſh fabric or produce, although the entire property belong to neutrals, inſtead of beng reſcinded, has lately received a confirmation, by the failure of a propoſition for its repeal. While this law, which is an unequivocal act of war on the commerce of the nations it attacks, continues in force, thoſe nations can ſee in the French Government only a power, regardleſs

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gardleſs of their eſſential rights, of their Independence and Sovereignty, and if they poſſeſs the means, they can reconcile nothing with their intereſt and honor, but a firm reſiſtance.

Hitherto, therefore, nothing is diſcoverable in the conduct of France, which ought to change or relax our meaſures of defence—on the contrary to extend and invigorate them is our true policy. We have no reaſon to regret that theſe meaſures have been thus far adopted and purſued, and in proportion as we enlarge our views of the portentous and incalculable ſituation of Europe, we ſhall diſcover new and cogent motives for the full developement of our energies and reſources.

But in demonſtrating by our conduct that we do not fear war in the neceſſary protection of our rights and honor, we ſhall give no room to infer that we abandon the deſire of peace. An efficient preparation for war can alone inſure peace. It is peace that we have uniformly and perſeveringly cultivated, and harmony between us and France may be reſtored at her option.—But to ſend another miniſter, without more determinate aſſurances that he would be received, would be an act of humiliation, to which the United States ought not to ſubmit. It muſt, therefore be left to France, if ſhe is indeed deſirous of accommodation, to take the requiſite ſteps. The United States will ſteadily obſerve the maxims by which they have hitherto been governed. They will reſpect the ſacred rights of Embaſſy. And with a ſincere diſpoſition on the part of France to deſiſt from hoſtility, to make reparation for the injuries heretofore inflicted on our commerce, and to do juſtice in future, there will be no obſtacle to the reſtoration of a friendly intercourſe. In making to you this declaration I give a pledge to France, and the world, that the Executive authority of this country ſtill adheres to the humane and pacific policy which has invariably governed its proceedings in conformity

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formity with the other branches of the government and of the people of the United States. But conſidering the late manifeſtations of her policy towards foreign nations, I deem it a duty deliberately and ſolemnly to declare my opinion, that whether we negotiate with her or not, vigorous preparations for war will be alike indiſpenſible. Theſe alone will give to us an equal treaty, and enſure its obſervance.

Among the meaſures of preparation, which appear expedient, I take the liberty to recal your attention to the naval eſtabliſhment. The beneficial effects of the ſmall naval armament, provided under the acts of the laſt ſeſſion, are known and acknowledged. Perhaps no country ever experienced more ſudden aad remarkable advantages from any meaſure of policy, than we have derived from the arming for our maritime protection and defence. We ought, without loſs of time, to lay the foundation for an inereaſe of our navy to a ſize ſufficient to guard our coaſt and protect our trade. Such a naval force, as it is doubtleſs in the power of the United States to create and maintain, would alſo afford to them the beſt means of general defence, by facilitating the ſafe tranſportation of troops and ſtores to every part of our extenſive coaſt. To accompliſh this important object, a prudent foreſight requires that ſyſtematical meaſures be adopted for procuring at all times, the requiſite timber and other ſupplies. In what manner this ſhall be done I leave to your conſideration.

I will now advert, gentlemen, to ſome matters of leſs moment, but proper to be communicated to the national legiſlature.

After the Spaniſh garriſons had evacuated the poſts they occupied at the Natchez and Walnut Hills, the commiſſioner of the United States commenced his obſervations, to aſcertain the point near the Miſſiſſippi, which terminated the northernmoſt part

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part of the thirty-firſt degree of north latitude. From thence he proceeded to run the boundary line between the United States and Spain. He was afterwards joined by the Spaniſh commiſſioner, when the work of the former was confirmed; and they proceeded together to the demarkation of the line. Recent information renders it probable, that the Southern Indians, either inſtigated to oppoſe the demarkation, or jealous of the conſequences of ſuffering white people to run a line over lands, to which the Indian title had not been extinguiſhed, have, ere this time, ſtopped the progreſs of the commiſſioners. And conſidering the miſchiefs which may reſult from continuing the demarkation, in oppoſition to the will of the Indian tribes, the great expence attending it, and that the boundaries which the commiſſioners have actually eſtabliſhed, probably extend at leaſt as far as the Indian title has been extinguiſhed, it will perhaps become expedient and neceſſary to ſuſpend farther proceedings, by recalling our commiſſioners.

The commiſſioners appointed in purſuance of the fifth article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between the United States and his Britannic Majeſty, to determine what river was truly intended under the name of the river St. Croix, mentioned in the treaty of peace, and forming a part of the boundary therein deſcribed, have finally decided that queſtion. On the 25th of October, they made their declaration that a river called Scodiac, which falls into Paſſamaquoddy Bay, at its northweſtern quarter, was the true St. Croix intended in the treaty of peace, as far as its great fork, where one of its ſtreams comes from the weſtward and the other from the northward, and that the latter ſtream is the continuation of the St. Croix to its ſource. This deciſion, it is underſtood, will preclude all contention among individual claimants, as it ſeems

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that the Schodiac and its northern branch, bound the grants of lands which have been made by the reſpective adjoining governments. A ſubordinate queſtion however, it has been ſuggeſted, ſtill remains to be determined. Between the mouth of the St. Croix, as now ſettled, and what is uſually called the Bay of Fundy, lie a number of valuable iſlands. The commiſſioners have not continued the boundary lines through any channels of theſe iſlands, and unleſs the Bay of Paſſamaquoddy be a part of the Bay of Fundy, this further adjuſtment of boundary will be neceſſary. But it is apprehended that this will not be a matter of any difficulty.

Such progreſs has been made in the examination and deciſion of caſes, of captures and condemnations of American veſſels, which were the ſubject of the ſeventh article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between the United States and Great Britain—that it is ſuppoſed the commiſſioners will be able to bring their buſineſs to a concluſion in Auguſt of the enſuing year.

The commiſſioners acting under the twenty-fifth article of the treaty between the United States and Spain, have adjuſted moſt of the claims of our citizens, for loſſes ſuſtained in conſequence of their veſſels and cargoes having been taken by the ſubjects of his catholic majeſty, during the late war between France and Spain.

Various circumſtances have concurred to delay the executing of the law for augmenting the military eſtabliſhment. Among theſe, was the deſire of obtaining the fulleſt information to direct the beſt ſelection of officers. As this object will now be ſpeedily accompliſhed, it is expected that the raiſing and organizing of the troops will proceed without obſtacle and with effect.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

I have directed an eſtimate of the appropriations which will be neceſſary for the ſervice of the enſuing

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ing year, to be laid before you, accompanied with a view of the public receipts and expenditures to a recent period. It will afford you ſatisfaction to infer the great extent and ſolidity of the public reſources from the proſperous ſtate of the finances, notwithſtanding the unexampled embarraſſments which have attended commerce. When you reflect on the conſpicuous examples of patriotiſm and liberality, which have been exhibited by our mercantile fellow-citizens, and how great a proportion of the public reſources depends on their enterprize, you will naturally conſider whether their convenience cannot be promoted and reconciled, with the ſecurity of the revenue, by a reviſion of the ſyſtem by which the collection is at preſent regulated.

During your receſs, meaſures have been ſteadily purſued for effecting the valuations and returns, directed by the act of the laſt ſeſſion, preliminary to the aſſeſſment and collection of a direct tax.—No other delays or obſtacles have been experienced, except ſuch as were expected to ariſe from the great extent of our country, and the magnitude and novelty of the operation, and enough has been accompliſhed to aſſure a fulfilment of the views of the legiſlature.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and
Gentlemen of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

I cannot cloſe this addreſs, without once more adverting to our political ſituation, and inculcating the eſſential importance of uniting in the maintenance of our deareſt intereſts; and, I truſt, that by the temper and wiſdom of your proceedings, and by a harmony of meaſures, we ſhall ſecure to our country that weight and reſpect, to which it is ſo juſtly entiled.

JOHN ADAMS.

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Report of the Secretary of State on the Tranſactions relating to the United States and France, ſince the laſt Communications to Congreſs on that Subject, dated 18th January, 1799.

THE points chiefly meriting attention are the attempts of the French Government,

1. To exculpate itſelf from the charge of corruption, as having demanded a douceur of Fifty Thouſand Pounds ſterling (222,000 dollars) for the pockets of the Directors and Miniſters, as repreſented in the diſpatches of our Envoys:

2. To detach Mr. Gerry from his colleagues, and to inveigle him into a ſeparate negotiation; and

3. Its deſign, if the negotiation failed, and a war ſhould take place between the United States and France, to throw the blame of the rupture on the United States.

1. The diſpatches of the Envoys publiſhed in the United States, and republiſhed in England, reached Paris towards the laſt of May: and on the 30th of that month, the French Miniſter, Mr. Talleyrand, affected an entire ignorance of the perſons deſignated by the letters W. X. Y. and Z.—calling them intriguers, whoſe object was to deceive the Envoys—writes to Mr. Gerry, and "prays him immediately to make known to him their names."

Mr. Gerry, in his anſwer of the 31ſt, wiſhes to evade Mr. Talleyrand's requeſt; and with reaſon, for he and his colleagues had "promiſed Meſſrs. X. Y. that *their* names ſhould in no event be made public." Mr. Gerry, in his letter of October 1, in noticing the repetition of Mr. Talleyrand's requeſt for thoſe names, ſtates as an objection to giving them up, "that they could be otherwiſe aſcertained;" and that Mr. Talleyrand's meſſenger, admitting the fact that they were already known, immediately mentioned their names. Mr. Gerry nevertheleſs certified in writing the names of X. Y. and Z. with the reſerve, "that they ſhould not be publiſhed on his authority:" and beſides formally certifying to Mr. Talleyrand the names of his *own private agents*, added, that "they did not produce to his knowledge, credentials or documents of any kind-"—"Credentials" in *writing* were certainly not to be expected to be produced by agents employed to make corrupt propoſitions: but Mr. Gerry had Mr. Talleyrand's own aſſurance that Mr. Y. was acting by his authority. It is recited in the envoy's diſpatches, and upon Mr. Gerry's own report to his colleagues, that on the 17th of December 1797, Mr. Y. "ſtated to him that two meaſures which Mr. Talleyrand propoſed, being adopted, a reſtoration of friendſhip between the republics would follow immediately; the one was a *gratuity of fifty thouſand pounds ſterling*; the other a purchaſe of thirty-two millions of Dutch reſcriptions," and after converſing on theſe topics, Mr. Gerry

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Gerry and Mr. Y. rode to Mr. Talleyrand's office, where "Mr. Gerry obſerved to Mr. Talleyrand, that Mr. Y. had ſtated to him that morning, ſome propoſitions as coming from Mr. Talleyrand, reſpecting which, Mr. Gerry could give no opinion," and after making ſome other obſervations, Mr. Talleyrand anſwered, "that the information Mr. Y. had given him (Mr. Gerry) was juſt, *and might always be relied on.*" This declaration *ſtamps with the Miniſter's authority*, all the communications made by Mr. Y. to the Envoys. And Mr. Y. himſelf, who is Mr. Bellamy, of Hamburgh, in his public vindication, declares, that "he had done nothing, ſaid nothing, and written nothing, without the orders of Citizen Talleyrand." The ſame may be aſſerted in regard to Mr. X. for he firſt introduced Mr. Y. to the Envoys; and his ſeparate communications were ſubſtantially the ſame with thoſe of Y. and both together were preſent with the Envoys when the communications were more than once repeated.

It alſo deſerves notice, that in ſtating the preliminary demands of the French Government, the private agents, X. and Y. and the Miniſter, uſe a ſimilar language. The agents declare, that the Directory are extremely irritated at the ſpeech of the Preſident, require an explanation of ſome parts of it, and reparation for others; that this muſt give pain to the Envoys, but the Directory would not diſpenſe with it: and that as to the means of averting the demand concerning the Preſident's ſpeech, the Envoys muſt ſearch for them, and propoſe them, themſelves. Being aſked to ſuggeſt the means, the anſwer is "*money*"—the purchaſe of the Dutch reſcriptions, and "the fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, as a douceur to the Directory."

The *Miniſter* told the Envoys, that the Directory were wounded by the Preſident's ſpeech; and, in his converſation with Mr. Gerry, on the 28th of October, ſaid, "the Directory had paſſed an arret, which he offered for peruſal, in which they demanded of the Envoys an explanation of ſome parts, and a reparation for others, of the Preſident's ſpeech to Congreſs of the 16th of May, 1797; that he was ſenſible difficulties would exiſt on the part of the Envoys relative to this demand; but that by their offering *money* he thought he could prevent the effect of the arret." Mr. Z. (the "interpreter") at the requeſt of Mr. Gerry, having ſtated that the Envoys have no ſuch powers, Mr. Talleyrand replied, they can in ſuch caſe take a power on themſelves; and propoſed that they ſhould make a "loan." But this "loan," as will preſently appear, did not mean the "money," which would "prevent the effect of the arret." Mr. Gerry then making ſome obſervations, on the powers of the Envoys—that they "were adequate to the diſcuſſion and adjuſtment of all points of real difference between the two nations; that they could alter and amend the treaty; or, if neceſſary, form a new one;" added, "that as to a loan, they had no powers whatever, to make one, but that they

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they could send one of their number for instructions on this proposition, if deemed expedient:"—"That as he (Mr. Talleyrand) had expressed a desire to confer with the Envoys individually, it was the wish of Mr. Gerry, that such a conference should take place, and their opinions thus be ascertained." "Mr. Talleyrand, in answer said, he should be glad to confer with the other Envoys, individually, *but that this matter about the* MONEY *must be settled directly* without sending to America; that he would not communicate the arret for a week; and that if we could adjust the difficulty respecting the speech, an application would nevertheless go to the United States for a LOAN:" Now this matter *of the* MONEY *that must be settled directly*, could only refer to the *douceur*; for a loan in the purchase of millions of Dutch rescriptions, or in any other form, could only be the subject of a *stipulation* to be *afterwards* fulfilled by the United States; but the *douceur* of fifty thousand pounds sterling, was a sum within the immediate reach of the Envoys; for their credit would certainly command it: in fact, a mercantile house had offered to answer their draughts: and this, Mr. Talleyrand unquestionably well knew; for it was a member of the same house who first introduced the minister's agent Mr. X. to General Pinckney, in the manner stated in the Envoys' dispatches. A collateral evidence that in "this matter of the money that must be settled directly," Mr. Talleyrand referred only to the *douceur* arises from this circumstance: The very next day (October 29th) Mr. X. called on the Envoys and said, "Mr. Talleyrand was extremely anxious to be of service to them, and had requested that one more effort should be made to induce us to enable him to be so." After a great deal of the same conversation which had passed at former interviews had been repeated, the Envoys say—"the sum of his proposition was, that if we would pay by way of fees (that was his expression) *the sum of* MONEY *demanded for* PRIVATE USE, the Directory would not receive us, but would permit us to remain in Paris as we now were; and we should be received by Mr. Talleyrand, *until one of us could go to America and consult our government on the subject of a* LOAN."

Although the Envoys' dispatches, and the facts and circumstances herein before stated, cannot leave a doubt that X. as well as Y. and Z. was well known to Mr. Talleyrand, it will not be amiss to add, that on the 2d. of December, X. Y. and Z. dined together at Mr. Talleyrand's, in company with Mr. Gerry; and that after rising from table, the money propositions, which had before been made, were repeated, in the room and in the presence, though perhaps not in the hearing of Mr. Talleyrand. Mr. X. put the question to Mr. Gerry in direct terms, either, "whether the Envoys would now give the *douceur*," or "whether they had got the MONEY ready." Mr. Gerry, very justly offended, answered positively in the negative, and the conversation dropped.

4 Mr. Z.

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Mr. Z. who has avowed himself to be Mr. Hauteval, was the person who first made known to the Envoys the Minister's desire to confer with them individually, on the objects of their mission: He it was, who first introduced Mr. Gerry to Mr. Talleyrand, and served as the interpreter of their conversations: and in his letter to Mr. Talleyrand, at the close of Mr. Gerry's document, No. 35, he announces himself to be the agent of the Minister, to make communications to the Envoys.

Mr. Hauteval declares "his sensibility must be much affected on finding himself under the letter Z. acting a part in company with certain intriguers, whose plan, (he says) it doubtless was to take advantage of the good faith of the American Envoys, and make them their dupes:" yet this person, the avowed agent of the French Minister, apparently so anxious to screen himself from the suspicion of an agency in soliciting the bribe required by Mr. Talleyrand, did himself urge a compliance with that corrupt proposition *.

The sensation which these details irresistibly excite, is that of astonishment at the unparralleled effrontery of Mr. Talleyrand, in demanding of Mr. Gerry the names of X. Y. and Z. after Y. had accompanied him on a visit to the Minister, *with whom the conversation detailed in the printed dispatches then passed*, and who then assured Mr. Gerry "that the information Mr. Y. had given him was just, and might always be relied on;" after Z. had in the first instance introduced Mr. Gerry to the Minister, and served as their mutual interpreter, *and when the conversation between them had also been stated in the dispatches*; and after X. Y. and Z. had all dined together with Mr. Gerry at Mr. Talleyrand's table, on rising from which X. and Y. renewed the proposition about the MONEY!—The very circumstance of Mr. Talleyrand's being continued in office, after the account of these intrigues has been published to the world, is a decisive proof that they were commenced and carried on with the privity, and by the secret orders of the Directory. It was to accomplish the object of these intrigues that the American Envoys were kept at Paris unreceived, six months after their credentials had been laid before the Directory: and it was only because they were superior to those intrigues, and that no hopes remained of wheedling or terrifying them into a compliance, that two of them were sent away—and with marks of insult and contempt.

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* Extract of a letter, dated June 15th, 1798, from Mr. King, Minister of the United States in London, to the Secretary of State.

"Col. Trumbull, who was at Paris soon after the arrival there of the Commissioners, has more than once informed me, that Hauteval told him that both the *douceur* and the *loan* were indispensable, and urged him to employ his influence with the American Commissioners to offer the *bribe* as well as the *loan*."

2. The

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2. The fact that the French Government attempted to inveigle Mr. Gerry into a ſeparate negotiation will not be queſtioned: at firſt it was made *privately*, and under an injunction of *ſecreſy* towards his colleagues: it was afterwards plainly inſinuated by the Miniſter, in his letter of the 18th of March 1798, in which he tells the Envoys that the Executive Directory was diſpoſed to treat with one of the three; and that one he openly avowed, in his letter of the 3d of April, to be Mr. Gerry. The *pretence* for ſelecting him was, that his "opinions preſumed to be more impartial, promiſed, in the courſe of the explanations, more of that reciprocal confidence which was indiſpenſable." But when before, have their "*opinions*" been ſtated as a juſtifiable ground for rejecting the ambaſſadors of peace? Ambaſſadors too, of eſtabliſhed probity, whoſe characters were of the firſt diſtinction in their own country, and whoſe demeanor, towards the government to which they were deputed, was decent and reſpectful? Who had, with a frankneſs which the candor of their inſtructions warranted, communicated the important points which they contained? And who unremittingly, and with the moſt anxious ſolicitude, entreated that the negotiations might be commenced? What more proper or more honorable qualities ought Miniſters deputed to negotiate with a foreign nation to poſſeſs? But why ſhould a foreign Government queſtion the *opinions* of ambaſſadors ſent to negotiate with it on ſubjects of *difference* between the two nations? If wiſely choſen, and faithful to the intereſts of their own country, they muſt of courſe poſſeſs different opinions from the government to which they are ſent, the *differing opinions* maintained by the two nations on their reſpective rights and intereſts, being the cauſe and objects of the negotiation.—A government really diſpoſed to treat on fair principles would never object to the *opinions* of foreign ambaſſadors. It would receive them, and appoint its own Miniſters with proper powers to treat with them, propoſe its terms, and receive thoſe offered; and diſcuſs both: and if then they could not agree, put an end to the *negotiation*. The French Government did not wiſh to *negotiate*, it deſired to *impoſe* a treaty on the United States. To this practice it had been accuſtomed towards the minor powers in Europe, whom it had ſubjected to its will: and it expected equal ſubmiſſion from the United States. Hence Mr. Talleyrand's ſecret declaration to Mr. Gerry "that if he would negotiate, they could ſoon finiſh a treaty; *for the Executive Directory were not in the habit of ſpending much time about ſuch matters.*" Hence the objections to Gen. Pinckey and Gen. Marſhall: they manifeſted a diſcernment ſuperior to the intrigues of the French Government, and an invincible determination not to ſurrender the honour, the intereſt, or the independence of their country. It was neceſſary then to get rid of them; and ſeeing that neither deſpair of negotiating, no ſtudied indignities, could induce them to quit their poſts, paſſports were ſent to them to quit France. It was with difficulty that

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General Pinckney could obtain permiſſion to ſtay two or three months for the recovery of his ſick daughter, to whom an immediate voyage would probably prove fatal. Unembarraſſed by the preſence of theſe Envoys, the French Government, if it really deſired a treaty on any terms, hoped to prevail on Mr. Gerry to negotiate ſeparately, although from the firſt overture he declined and continued to decline it. But after the expulſion of his colleagues, it hoped by its ſeductive arts to prevail over his ſcruples, and gain his conſent to terms, which, while they were preſent, would be rejected; or at all events to retain him, with the ſemblance of negotiating, regularly or informally, and thus keep the United States in the torpor of indeciſion, without preparation for offence or defence. Unfortunately, Mr. Gerry was induced, by the threats of immediate war againſt the United States, to ſeparate from his colleagues and ſtay in Paris; threats which, viewed with their motives, merited only deteſtation and contempt. Four or five months before, the threats of immediate orders to quit France, and the terrors of war in its moſt dreadful forms, had been held up to all the Envoys, to frighten them into a compliance with the groundleſs, unjuſt, and corrupt demands of the French Government. Thoſe threats had not been executed, and the unworthy purpoſes for which they had been uttered had been obvious. Happily for the United States, the character of the French Government, as delineated in the official diſpatches of all the Envoys, and the knowledge of its conduct towards other countries whoſe governments it had overturned, and whoſe people, in the names of Liberty and Equality, it had enſlaved, ſo operated as not to leave us expoſed to the evils *ſuſpenſe* was calculated to produce. Mr. Gerry indeed reſiſted all the arts of the French Miniſter to entice him into a formal negotiation, after that government had driven his colleagues from Paris: a negotiation which in its nature would have been a ſurrender of our independence, by admitting a foreign government to chooſe for us the miniſter who ſhould repreſent our country, to treat of our important rights and intereſts, which that government had itſelf violated and deeply injured.

The Directory and their Miniſter, Mr. Talleyrand, hoped and expected that General Pinckney and General Marſhall would voluntarily have quitted France after the Miniſter's letter of the 18th of March, in which he made the offenſive diſtinction between them and their colleague Mr. Gerry, on the pretence that his "opinions" were more "impartial" than theirs. Accordingly Mr. Talleyrand, in his letter to Mr. Gerry of the 3d of April, ſays—"I ſuppoſe, ſir, that Meſſrs. Pinckney and Marſhall have thought it uſeful and proper, in conſequence of the intimations which the end of my note of the 18th of March laſt preſents, to quit the territory of the Republic." Yet Mr. Talleyrand had given them neither paſſports nor letters of ſafe conduct! The fact is, the French Government wiſhed to avoid the odium of ſending them away,

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away, and the blame of a rupture, which Mr. Talleyrand had predicted would be the conſequence; while it was privately intimated to them that they muſt leave the country. The Miniſter's conduct on this occaſion, towards General Marſhall (as detailed in his journal), was particularly marked with indignities. When it was obſerved to Mr. Talleyrand, that this was not the manner in which a foreign Miniſter ought to be treated, Mr. Talleyrand replied, that General Marſhall was not a foreign Miniſter, but was to be conſidered as a private American citizen, and muſt obtain his paſſport like others through the Conſul. To this it was anſwered, That General Marſhall was a foreign Miniſter*, and that the French Government could not deprive him of that character, which was conferred upon him, not by Mr. Talleyrand, but by the United States; and though the Directory might refuſe to receive or treat with him, ſtill his country had clothed him with the requiſite powers, which he held independently of France; that if he was not acceptable to the French Government, and in conſequence thereof it was determined to ſend him away, ſtill he ought to be ſent away like a Miniſter; that he ought to have his paſſports, with letters of ſafe-conduct, which would protect him from the cruiſers of France. Mr. Talleyrand replied, that if General Marſhall wiſhed for a paſſport, he muſt give in his name, ſtature, age, complexion, &c. to the American Conſul, who would obtain a paſſport for him: that with reſpect to a letter of ſafe-conduct, it was unneceſſary, as no riſk from the cruiſers would be incurred. The reſult of theſe converſations was a plain demonſtration of the intention of the Miniſter, that in conſequence of his intimation at the cloſe of his letter of the 18th of March, that the "opinions" of two of the Envoys were not agreeable to the government of France, Generals Pinckney and Marſhall *ſhould appropriate to themſelves* the character which the Miniſter had drawn *generally*. The Envoys, aware of this ſnare, in their anſwer of the 3d of April to the intimation, that "the Directory was diſpoſed to treat with *one* of the Envoys," declare to the Miniſter, "that *no one* of the Envoys was authorized to take upon himſelf a negotiation evidently entruſted to the whole," and "that no two of them could propoſe to withdraw themſelves from the taſk committed to them by their government, while there remained a poſſibility of performing it;" but that if "it ſhould be the will of the Directory to *order* paſſports for the whole or any number of them," it was deſired that ſuch paſſports might be accompanied with

* On the 9th of October 1797, the day after the Envoys had delivered to the Miniſter a copy of their letter of credence, "cards of hoſpitality were ſent to them and their ſecretaries, in a ſtyle ſuitable to their official character." [Diſpatches, p. 17.] And in the Miniſter's letter to them of the 18th of March 1798, he calls them "the Commiſſioners and Envoys Extraordinary of the United States of America."—[Diſpatches, p. 92.]

letters

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letters of safe-conduct, to protect them against the cruisers of France.

These endeavours of the French Government, whether real or affected, to draw Mr. Gerry into a separate negotiation, constitute the substance of the correspondence between him and Mr. Talleyrand. They appear to merit consideration in several points of view.

1. Because if real, it was only in the hope and expectation, that by intrigues and terrors the French Government might influence Mr. Gerry to enter into a formal treaty, on the terms which he and his colleagues had repeatedly rejected as incompatible with the interest, honor, and independence of their country. For at this time Mr. Talleyrand had not renounced the demand of loans and a douceur as the indispensable preliminaries of a treaty. Accordingly we see Mr. Talleyrand, in his letter of the 3d of April to Mr. Gerry, proposed "to *resume* their reciprocal communications upon the interests of the French Republic and the United States of America." And in his letter of July 12th, to Mr. Gerry, having mentioned the arrival at Havre of a packet, the Sophia, from the American government, he says, "until then I never supposed you entertained the design of embarking before we had come to an agreement upon the definitive articles to be ratified by your government." 2. Because if that government had so far succeeded, it would have insisted on its ratification by the President and Senate, on the ground constantly taken by Mr. Talleyrand, that the powers of the Envoys being *several* as well as *joint*, Mr. Gerry when *alone, even after the French government had* ordered *his colleagues to leave France*, were adequate to the formation of the treaty; and that therefore the public faith would be violated, if it were not ratified. 3. Because under such circumstances, the French government doubtless calculated at least on a division of the public opinion in the United States in favour of the ratification of such a treaty; by means of which it might *enforce* the ratification, *or effect still greater mischiefs*. 4. But these endeavours to draw Mr. Gerry into a formal negotiation are remarkable, because they were persevered in during near five months, against his constant, direct, and positive refusals to treat separately; Mr. Talleyrand asserting and Mr. Gerry denying the competency of his powers.

We have seen the Envoys, from the 6th of October, 1797, the date of their first letter to the French Minister, to the 3d of April, 1798, when their last was delivered to him, expressing their earnest desire to enter upon and prosecute the great business of their mission: we have seen them during that long period patiently enduring neglect and indignities, to which an ardent zeal to re-establish harmony and peace could alone induce freemen to submit. We have seen them while held in suspense—neither received nor rejected—yielding to the importunities of *private* agents of the French Government, and hearing and discussing

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cuſſing their propoſitions, inſulting as they were, in the hope that when theſe ſhould be ſhown to be utterly inadmiſſible, others founded in reaſon and equity, and in the uſual courſe of diplomatic negotiation, might be brought forward. Doubtleſs they alſo wiſhed, when their aſtoniſhment at the firſt overtures had ſubſided, by liſtening ſtill longer to ſuch diſhonourable propoſitions, to aſcertain the true character of the French government. We have ſeen them, after waiting five weeks from the preſentation of a copy of their letters of credence, entirely unnoticed, "ſolicit an attention to their miſſion," and ſoliciting in vain. Thus denied an official hearing, they hoped by an unuſual ſtep to excite the attention of that government: they determined to tranſmit to the Miniſter a letter, repreſenting the views of their own government in relation to the ſubjects in diſpute with France. This letter, dated the 17th, was delivered the 31ſt of January, 1798. Waiting near a month without an anſwer, and "ſtill being anxious to hear explicitly from Mr. Talleyrand himſelf, before they ſent their final letter, whether there were no means, within their powers, of accommodating our differences with France, on juſt and reaſonable grounds,—on the 27th of February they deſired "a perſonal interview on the ſubject of their miſſion;" and afterwards a ſecond interview. They remark on what paſſed at thoſe meetings, "that the views of France, with regard to the United States, were not eſſentially changed ſince their communications with its unofficial agents in the preceding October."

At length they received Mr. Talleyrand's letter of the 18th March, 1798, in anſwer to theirs of the 17th of January. The Miniſter's letter repreſented the complaints of France; as uſual, charging the American Government with the inexecution of the treaties with France—with *diſſimulation*—inſinuating that our Tribunals were ſubject to a *ſecret influence*—holding up the Britiſh Treaty as replete with evil and injury, and "the principal grievance of the Republic"—accuſing the American Government of a wiſh to ſeize the firſt favourable occaſion to conſummate an intimate union with Great Britain, and ſuggeſting that a devotion and partiality to that power have long been the principle of the conduct of the Federal Government.

To this letter of the French Miniſter, the Envoys ſent their reply on the 3d of April. This reply and their former letter detect the ſophiſms and erroneous ſtatements of the Miniſter—expoſe his naked aſſertions—refute his arguments—repel his calumnies—and completely vindicate the fidelity, the juſtice, and, as a neutral power, the impartiality of the government of the United States; and, at the ſame time, exhibit the weighty and well-founded complaints of the United States againſt the French Republic.

Hitherto, inſtead of a deſire to obtain a reconciliation, we can diſcover in the French government only *empty profeſſions* of a deſire to

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to conciliate; while it haughtily refuſed to receive our Envoys, and during ſix months diſregarded their reſpectful and ardent ſolicitations to negotiate: And after *one* of them, whom it induced to remain in France, had declared that "*he had no powers to treat ſeparately, that the meaſure was impoſſible,*" then the Directory expelled the other *Two!*

If now we ſurvey Mr. Gerry's individual correſpondence, we ſhall find no ſolid evidence of any change in the diſpoſition of the French government.

In his firſt letter to Mr. Gerry, Mr. Talleyrand's artifice is viſible: he addreſſes him as "Envoy Extraordinary of the United States of America, to the French Republic;" and propoſes to him to "*reſume* their reciprocal communications." Mr. Gerry, apprehending that the Miniſter intended to draw him into a negotiation, repeats what he had often before declared, that for him to treat ſeparately was impracticable: and that he can only confer with him informally.

On the 20th of April, Mr. Gerry addreſſes a letter to the Miniſter, and preſſes him to come forward with propoſitions for terminating all differences, reſtoring harmony, and re-eſtabliſhing commerce between the two nations. He receives no anſwer. On the 28th he confers with the Miniſter, who ſays he cannot make propoſitions, becauſe he does not know the views of the United States in regard to a treaty. Mr. Gerry gives him the information. He then promiſes in three or four days to deliver Mr. Gerry the project of a treaty: this promiſe was never performed. On the 12th of May, the new inſtructions of March 23d, ſent by the Sophia packet, reached Mr. Gerry; and he gave immediate notice to the Miniſter that he ſhould return to America in the Sophia, as ſoon as ſhe could be fitted for ſea.

"On the 24th of May the Miniſter ſent his principal Secretary to inform Mr. Gerry, *that his government did not wiſh to break the Britiſh treaty*; but expected ſuch proviſions as would indemnify France, and put her on a footing with that nation." Yet that treaty had been made, by the French government, its chief pretence for thoſe unjuſt and cruel depredations on American commerce which have brought diſtreſs on multitudes and ruin on many of our citizens; and occaſioned a total loſs of property to the United States of probably more than twenty millions of dollars; beſides ſubjecting our fellow-citizens to inſults, ſtripes, wounds, torture, and impriſonment. And Mr. Talleyrand, in his letter of the 18th March, to the Envoys, declared that treaty to be "the principal grievance of the Republic." But now, inſtead of breaking that treaty, France deſires to be put on the ſame footing. This the United States would at any time have done, and the Envoys were now explicitly inſtructed to do: and ſeven months before, all the Envoys in their converſation with Mr. Bellamy (Y.) the confidential and authorized agent of the French

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French Minister, told him "that he might be assured that their powers were such as authorized them to place France on equal ground with England, in any respects in which an inequality might be supposed to exist at present between them, to the disadvantage of France."

The Secretary also mentioned the claims of the American citizens on the French Republic: he said, if the latter should be unable to pay them, when adjusted, and the United States would assume and pay them, France would reimburse the amount thereof. This has the semblance of candour: but on the 4th of March, when the Envoys were in conference with Mr. Talleyrand, and they disclosed their principal instructions, "General Pinckney and Mr. Gerry told him they were positively forbidden to assume the debts to our own citizens, even if we were to pay the money directly to them." And doubtless it was because the proposition was already known to be inadmissible that it was now renewed.

The Secretary and Mr. Gerry had also some unimportant conversation about the Consular Convention. And it is plain that the whole object of the Secretary's visit was to amuse, by keeping alive Mr. Gerry's hopes of some pacific arrangements.

On the 26th of May, Mr. Gerry had a conference with the Minister; pressing on this, as on former occasions, the necessity of sending a Minister to the United States, with powers to negotiate; to which, he says, the Minister acceded; but afterwards explained himself to mean a Minister to *reside there after the ratification of the talked-of treaty.*

Such are the proceedings of the French government, by its Minister, Mr. Talleyrand, before the arrival of the printed dispatches of the Envoys. We discover nothing but a proposition for treating with Mr. Gerry alone—which he had repeatedly declared to be *impossible*—and on terms which Mr. Gerry himself, as well as the other Envoys, had long before pronounced to be utterly inadmissible, because directly repugnant to their instructions. We shall now see, by an examination of Mr. Gerry's subsequent communications, that the publication of the Envoy's dispatches, far from causing a discontinuance of negotiations with him, or any change in the disposition of the French government more unfriendly to the United States, incomparably greater zeal for negotiating was exhibited afterwards than before.

On the 30th of May, the Minister announces to Mr. Gerry the publication of the Envoys' dispatches. In his letter of the 27th of June, he says this incident only "for a moment suspended the principal object"—the negotiation with Mr. Gerry: and in his letter of June 10th he declares, that "the French Government, superior to all the personalities, to all the manœuvres of its enemies, perseveres in the intention of conciliating with sincerity all the differences which have happened between the two countries." On the 18th of June the Minister sends him a plan for conducting

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ducting the negotiations; for the first time states the "three points" on which he says "all negotiations between France and the United States must essentially rest;" and "gives (what he calls) a large developement" of them; concluding by pressing him to remain at Paris, to accelerate the negotiation—"the drawing together of those ties which the French Republic and the *true Americans* have regretted to see *relaxed*."

On the 27th of June the Minister again writes to Mr. Gerry, and in language the most importunate, such as had never before been used, urges him not to withdraw, "when the French Government, superior to all resentments, and never listening to any thing but justice, manifests itself anxious to conclude a solid and mutually satisfactory agreement." The Minister even observes, that the first of the "three points" mentioned in his preceding letter (respecting amicable declarations about mutual recriminations) might be postponed—that the third (about the consular convention) would doubtless experience no difficulty on either side, after the second should be amicably settled: That it was to the *second* therefore they should first attend; it being so much the more important, as it embraced the source of all the differences between the two nations. And on the 22d of July, the Minister renounces all demands of "loans and explanations on the subject of speeches;" and even affects to be hurt that Mr. Gerry should have mentioned them: although both he and his private agents had, before, so long and so obstinately persevered in demanding them of the Envoys, as the indispensable preliminaries to a negotiation. And doubtless it is partly owing to the publication of their dispatches, thereby exposing to the world those shameless demands, with the scandalous proposition of the douceur, that they are now relinquished.

In adducing these circumstances to shew the *increased zeal* of the French Government, since the publication of the dispatches, to negotiate on its differences with the United States, it is not to be understood, that they afford a shadow of evidence of its sincerity. But as *professions*, verbal or written, furnished the only ground on which Mr. Gerry could form his opinion, that "before the arrival of the dispatches of the Envoys, the Minister was sincere and anxious to obtain a reconciliation." much more, professions stronger and more importunate, afterwards made, afford proportionably higher evidence of sincerity. But the present details demonstrate that all those professions were merely ostensible. In the Minister's last-mentioned letter, after saying that his "second point" was most important, "*as it embraced the source of all the differences*," and that to this they should *first attend*—he purposely forgets it, passes over it, and sends Mr. Gerry a note on the *Consular Convention*, of all possible subjects in difference the most insignificant; as it would have expired by its own limitation in two years and a half; within which time, the commerce of France, judging from its present state of annihilation, would probably not furnish

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furniſh a ſingle ſhip to viſit the ports of the United States. In his next letter, dated July 6th, he purſues his ſpeculations on the *Conſular Convention*, and ſends Mr. Gerry two more notes upon it; complaining that he had not tranſmitted to him his opinion upon his firſt note, and recommending the two laſt to his attention: although Mr. Gerry had repeatedly and poſitively declined a *formal diſcuſſion*, ſuch as the Miniſter now urged in writing. Mr. Gerry ſtates alſo that this firſt note of the Miniſter on the Conſular Convention, was ſent to him ſix weeks after he had demanded his paſſport, and when his baggage was actually on board the Sophia!

In a word, the more clearly the impoſſibility of entering on a formal negotiation appeared, the more was it preſſed by the French Miniſter. Mr. Gerry, in his letter to Mr. Talleyrand of July 20th, as juſtly as pointedly expoſes the boaſted zeal of the Miniſter—"You was the firſt, you affirm, to preſs ſeriouſly the negotiation: you will agree with me that the merit would have been greater, had the meaſure itſelf been *practible*." Again he ſays to the Miniſter, "You frequently remind me of your exertions [to negotiate] which I am diſpoſed as much as poſſible to appreciate, regretting at the ſame time *their circuitous direction*."

From this detail of facts, the following are the neceſſary concluſions:

That by the excluſive attentions of the Miniſter to Mr. Gerry, the French Government intended to excite the jealouſy of his colleagues, to promote diſſentions between them, to ſeparate him from them, and induce him to remain in France; expecting either to ſeduce him into a formal negotiation of a treaty, on terms excluſively advantageous to France, and injurious and diſhonorable to the United States; or, failing in this, to hold the United States in *ſuſpenſe*, and prevent any meaſures for our ſecurity—in the event of a war; while we, amuſed and deluded by warm but empty profeſſions of the pacific views and wiſhes of France, and by "informal conferences," might wait in ſpiritleſs torpor, hoping for a peaceful reſult: and

That by this courſe of proceeding—this oſtentatious diſplay of zeal to adjuſt differences, and reſtore harmony and a friendly intercourſe between the United States and France, the French Government intended, in caſe of a rupture, to throw the blame on the former.

It is neceſſary to make a few obſervations on the decree of the Executive Directory of the 31ſt July 1798.

This decree was ſent after Mr. Gerry to Havre, and he ſuppoſes that the official impediments, which for ſeveral days prevented his ſailing, are to be aſcribed to the Miniſter's deſire of ſending the decree by him. The Miniſter introduces it as "a part of the meaſures which he had announced to Mr. Gerry on the 22d of July." In his letter of that date to Mr. Gerry, the Miniſter ſays, "By information which the Government has juſt received, it

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it indeed learns that violences have been committed upon the commerce and citizens of the United States in the Weſt-Indies, and on their coaſts. Do it the juſtice to believe that it needs only to know the facts, to diſavow all acts *contrary to the laws of the Republic and its own decrees.* A remedy is preparing for it, and orders will ſoon arrive in the Weſt-Indies, calculated to cauſe every thing to return within its juſt limits." This "remedy" is the decree of the 31ſt of July.

1. The firſt article of this decree confines to the ſpecial agents of the Directory, the right of iſſuing commiſſions to cruiſers; and requires theſe to conform themſelves to all the laws relative to cruiſing and prizes, and eſpecially to thoſe of the 1ſt of October, 1793. Although the injunction to conform to *all the laws* of the Public relative to cruiſing was ominous, as the *laws* moſt recently promulgated and beſt known were themſelves the ſources of the depredations and evils of which we complained; yet not imagining that a decree introduced with ſo much ſolemnity, of which one copy was ſent to Mr. Gerry, another to the American Conſul General at Paris, and a third to Mr. Létombe, late Conſul General of France—all to be communicated to the Executive of the United States, and all of which have been received—could be *a mere parade of words.* I was diſpoſed to conclude that the law of the 1ſt of October, 1793, to which all cruiſers were *eſpecially* enjoined to conform, might contain regulations that would afford ſome relief from French depredations. By the favour of Mr. Létombe, I obtained a copy of that law; and to my aſtoniſhment found its object, conformably to its title, was "To determine the mode of dividing prizes made by French veſſels on the enemies of the Republic."* And the only reſtriction, in this lengthy law of ſix-and-forty articles, impoſed on the individuals, officers, and all others, compoſing the crews of their armed veſſels is, "that they ſhall not ſell beforehand their eventual ſhares of prizes."

2. The ſecond article declares that all commiſſions granted by the agents in the French colonies in America, to fit out veſſels for cruiſers, or for war and commerce, ſhall be void in thirty days after the publication of the decree in thoſe colonies.

It has been ſuppoſed that by this regulation the agents may gather a freſh harveſt of fees for new commiſſions: and that this would be its only effect. The agents however had before taken care of this; they had been accuſtomed to limit the duration of privateers' commiſſions; and if they continued to cruiſe after their expiration, ſuch privateers ſhould have been conſidered as deſtitute of commiſſions, and conſequently if they made any captures,

* DECRET de la Convention Nationale du 1. 8. bre 1793, l'an 2d de la Republique Francaiſe,

Que détermine le mode de Répartition des priſes faites par les vaiſſeaux Francais ſur les ennemis de la Republique."

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as pirates:—But the agents knew their intereſt better: they did not puniſh the piratical captors—they did not declare their captures void, and reſtore the property to the neutral owners—but, declaring ſuch captors to have no title to the captured veſſels and cargoes, took the whole to themſelves. A remarkable inſtance occurred in the laſt year, in the caſe of the Eaſt-India ſhip *New Jerſey*, belonging to Philadelphia, to redeem which, the owners have paid to GENERAL HEDOUVILLE, *Special Agent* of the *Executive Directory* in St. Domingo, upwards of two hundred thouſand dollars in caſh. Whether any, and what portion of ſuch prize-money goes into the cheſt of the Republic, I am not informed.

3. The third article declares that all agents and other deputies in the *neutral poſſeſſions*, appointed to decide there on the validity of prizes taken by the French cruiſers, and who ſhall be ſuſpected of having a direct or indirect intereſt in the cruiſers, ſhall be immediately recalled.

It is remarkable that this article, apparently deſigned to correct the monſtrous abuſe of public officers ſitting in judgment in their own cauſes, ſhould be limited to ſuch of the French agents, and their deputies, as were appointed to reſide in NEUTRAL *places*. I do not know that an inſtance of the kind exiſts. For although the French privateers, and their prizes, find aſylums in the Sweediſh and Daniſh iſlands, yet the papers are carried thence to Guadaloupe, and there the captured veſſels receive their doom under the ſuperintendance of another *ſpecial agent* of the *Executive Directory*, VICTOR HUGUES. And even the captured American veſſels carried into the Weſt-India ports of Spain and Holland, do not there receive ſentence: theſe caſes are decided by the agent, or his deputies, or other French tribunals, eſtabliſhed in the iſland of St. Domingo, frequently, if not generally in the abſence of the maſters and ſupercargoes. The French agents and judges find no difficulty in this mode of proceeding; *juſtice* being adminiſtered with more *facility* and *diſpatch* when only *one* of the *parties* is preſent at the trial; eſpecially when the agents, or other judges, are intereſted in the privateers; and this the preſent decree impliedly allows; the penalty of "recall" being applicable, as above ſuggeſted, to ſuch agents only as reſide in *neutral places*, if any ſuch there be.

It is alſo remarkable, that this decree, which was to give the United States a proof of the juſtice of the French government, (a government, Mr. Talleyrand ſays, "never liſtening to any thing but juſtice,") and of its deſire of a reconciliation with the United States, ſhould be limited to the *Weſt Indies*, when as *great*, if not as *numerous abuſes* were practiſed by French agents and tribunals in Europe, and even France itſelf, as in her remote poſſeſſions. This too many of our citizens well know. For captures and condemnations are not the leſs *abuſes*, becauſe made under the colour of *municipal* laws and decrees which directly violate treaties, the law of nations, and the plaineſt principles of juſtice. At preſent I ſhall only mention, that in a report made by Major Mountflorence, chancellor of the American conſulate at Paris, to General Pinckney, in December,

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December, 1796, and which was laid before Congreſs in May, 1797, he ſtates, "That the tribunals of commerce in every port of France, take cognizance, in the firſt inſtance, of every matter relative to captures at ſea;" and "theſe tribunals (he adds) are chiefly compoſed of merchants, and moſt of them are, directly or indirectly, more or leſs intereſted in the fitting out of privateers; and therefore are often concerned in the controverſies they are to determine upon."

4. The fourth article requires the ſpecial agents of the Executive Directory at Cayenne, St. Domingo, and Guadaloupe, ſtudiouſly to take care, that the intereſts and property of veſſels, belonging to neutrals and allies, be ſcrupulouſly reſpected.

We have too long witneſſed the ſtudious and ſcrupulous care of theſe gentlemen reſpecting the property of neutrals and allies, and experienced its ruinous conſequences; and as the ſame laws which authorized that "care" remain in force, and with a freſh injunction of a ſtrict conformity to them, we can expect only a continuance of the ſame abuſes.

5. The fifth article enjoins the Special Agents of the Executive Directory, Conſuls, and all others inveſted with powers for that purpoſe, to cauſe to be arreſted and puniſhed all who ſhall contravene the proviſions of the preſent decree.—Unfortunately, theſe Special Agents, Conſuls, and their Duputies, are themſelves the *aggreſſors*, and juſtify their proceedings under the laws of the Republic, and the Decrees of the Executive Directory.

This analyſis of the preſent Decree manifeſts its futility; and, with ſome remarks on its preamble, will demonſtrate it to be a bold impoſture; intended to miſlead the citizens of the United States into a belief that the French government was going to put an end to the depredations of French cruiſers on American commerce; while the means propoſed are ſo groſs as to be an inſult on our underſtandings.

The Preamble to the Decree ſets forth, "that information *recently* received from the French colonies, and the continent of America, leaves no room to doubt that French cruiſers, or ſuch as call themſelves French, have infringed the laws of the Republic relative to cruiſing and prizes;" and "that foreigners and pirates have abuſed the latitude allowed at Cayenne and the Weſt-India iſlands, to veſſels fitted out for cruiſing, or for war and commerce, in order to cover with the French flag their extortions and the violation of the reſpect due to the law of nations, and to the perſons and property of allies and neutrals." And Mr. Talleyrand, in one of his letters before noticed, dated the 22d of July laſt, ſpeaks of this information as having been "juſt received."

But what has been more notorious than French depredations on neutral, and eſpecially on American commerce, in violation of treaties and the law of nations? Theſe have been coeval with the exiſting war in Europe; but were multiplied under the looſe Decree of the Executive Directory paſſed the 2d of July, 1796, declaring that "the flag of the French Republic will treat neutral veſſels,

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either as to confiſcation, to ſearches, or to capture, in the ſame manner as they *ſhall* ſuffer the Engliſh to treat them."

This decree committed the whole commerce of neutrals, in the firſt inſtance, to the rapacity of French privateers, and then to the diſcretion of their Agents, Conſuls, and Tribunals. Theſe had only to ſay, truly or falſely, that the Engliſh treated neutrals in any given way, and then they were to treat them in the ſame manner. Accordingly we have ſeen Santhonax and Raimond, Commiſſioners of the French Government in St. Domingo, in their adjudication of an American veſſel, on the 10th of January, 1797, declare, "That the reſolution (or decree) paſſed by the Executive Directory, on the 2d of July, 1796, preſcribes to all the armed veſſels of the Republic, and the armed veſſels belonging to individuals, to treat neutral veſſels in the ſame manner as they ſuffer the Engliſh to treat them;" and "that it is in conſequence of the above reſolution of the Executive Directory, and in conſequence of the manner in which the Engliſh Government in the Antilles *treats* neutral veſſels, that the commiſſion paſſed their reſolution of the 7th of January, by which they declare all neutral veſſels bound to or from Engliſh ports, to be legal prize." From theſe facts, and the tenor of the decree itſelf, we can form but one concluſion, *That it was framed in ſuch indefinite terms, on purpoſe to give ſcope for arbitrary conſtructions, and conſequently for unlimited oppreſſion and vexation.*

But without waiting for this decree, the Commiſſioners of the French Government at St. Domingo began their piracies on the commerce of the United States: and in February, 1797, wrote to the Miniſter of Marine, (and the extract of the letter appeared in the official journal of the Executive Directory of the 5th of June) "That having found no reſource in finance, and knowing the unfriendly diſpoſitions of the Americans, and to avoid periſhing in diſtreſs, they had armed for cruiſing; and that already eighty-ſeven cruiſers were at ſea; and that for three months preceding, the adminiſtration had ſubſiſted, and individuals been enriched, with the product of thoſe prizes."—"That the decree of the 2d of July was not known by them until five months afterwards. But (ſay they) the ſhocking conduct of the Americans, and the *indirect* knowledge of the *intentions* of our Government, made it our duty to order reprisals, even before we had received the official notice of the decree."—They felicitate themſelves that American veſſels were daily taken; and declare that they had learnt, by divers perſons from the continent, that the Americans were perfidious, corrupt, the friends of England, and that therefore their veſſels no longer entered the French ports, unleſs carried in by force."

After this recital, before the Council of Five Hundred, Paſtoret makes the following remarkable reflections:

"On reading this letter, we ſhould think that we had been dreaming; that we had been tranſported into a ſavage country, where men, ſtill ignorant of the empire of morals and of laws, commit crimes without ſhame and without remorſe, and applaud themſelves for

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for their robberies as Paulus Æmilius or Cato would have praiſed themſelves for an eminent ſervice rendered to their country. Cruiſers armed againſt a friendly nation! Repriſals, when it is we ourſelves who attack! Repriſals againſt a nation that has not taken a ſingle veſſel of ours! Riches acquired by the confiſcation of the ſhips of a people to whom we are united by treaties, and whom no declaration of war had ſeparated from us!"—"The whole diſcourſe of the Agents may be reduced to theſe few words: 'Having nothing wherewith to buy, I ſeize; I make myſelf amends for the property which I want by piracy, which enriches me; and then I ſlander thoſe whom I have pillaged.' "This is robbery juſtified by ſelfiſhneſs and calumny." Yet *Santhonax*, one of theſe "robbers," and the chief of thoſe Directorial Agents, continued in office, and going a few months afterwards from St. Domingo to France, was received as a member into one of the Legiſlative Councils.

Paſtoret alſo adverts to a letter from *Merlin*, then Miniſter of Juſtice, and now a member of the Executive Directory, to Mr. Skipwith, Conſul General of the United States, which alſo appeared in the Journal of the Directory; and quotes the following paſſage: "Let your Government break the inconceivable treaty which it concluded on the 19th of November, 1794, with our moſt implacable enemies, and the French Republic will ceaſe to apply in its own favour the regulations in that treaty, which favour England to the injury of France; and I warrant you that we ſhall not ſee an appeal to thoſe regulations, in any tribunal, to ſupport *unjuſt pretenſions*." "Have I (ſays Paſtoret) read this rightly? *Unjuſt pretenſions!* Could it be poſſible that they ſhould thus have been characterized by the Miniſter who is himſelf their agent and defender?"

After all, this "inconceivable Britiſh treaty," was itſelf but a *pretext* to countenance the "unjuſt pretenſions," as Merlin himſelf calls them, uſed by the French Government in its tribunals, for the purpoſe of condemning American veſſels. The details I have already given prove it. I beg leave to adduce other evidence. It is the teſtimony of Mr. Barlow, an American by birth, but for ſeveral years paſt a citizen of France, a man of acknowledged diſcernment and talents, devoted to the French Republic, and intimate with her leading men. Mr. Barlow has long reſided at Paris, and cannot have miſtaken the views of the French Government, nor the motives of its conduct. Mr. Barlow's letter dated at Paris the firſt of March, 1798, to his brother-in-law Mr. Baldwin, has doomed the writer to infamy: yet when it deſcribes the principles and conduct of the French Republic, it merits attention. He ſays, "that act of ſubmiſſion to the Britiſh Government, commonly called JAY's Treaty, is uſually conſidered, both by its friends and enemies, as the ſole cauſe, or at leaſt the great cauſe of the preſent hoſtile diſpoſition of the

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French Republic towards the *United States*. This opinion (ſays he) is erroneous." He then proceeds to an enumeration of a variety of matters which he ſays have influenced the conduct of France. But the moſt provoking, and the moſt unpardonable of all the offences of the United States againſt France, was, fortunately, not an act of the *government*, but an act of the *people*. The *Freemen* of the United States, "the true Americans," dared to exerciſe their independent rights, and contrary to the wiſhes of the French Government, and the endeavours and practices of its Miniſter, Adet, elected Mr. ADAMS to the office of *Preſident*. Mr. Barlow's obſervations on this event further develope the character and the principles of that Government. He ſays, "when the election of ADAMS was announced here, it produced the order of the 2d of March*, which was meant to be little ſhort of a declaration of war:" "the Government here was determined to *fleece* you of your property, to a ſufficient degree to bring you to your feeling in the only nerve in which it was preſumed your ſenſibility lay, which was your pecuniary intereſt." And what was this "feeling" to produce? The anſwer is obvious—*Submiſſion to the will of the French Government*. The myſtery of French politics is here unveiled. The United States *did not ſubmit*: Hence the non-reception of her Envoys, and their haughty treatment: Hence the inſulting demands of tribute as a preliminary even to their reception; and hence the expulſion of two of them from France.

But to return to the decree of the Executive Directory of the 31ſt of July laſt.

I have already ſhewn that the maſs of the depredations on the commerce of the United States, under the French flag, of which we ſo juſtly complain, are not thoſe committed, as the Directory in their preamble inſinuate, by "foreigners and pirates," but by French armed veſſels commiſſioned by the Government or its agents; or whether commiſſioned or not, whoſe acts in capturing American veſſels receive the ſanction of French Conſuls, of French Tribunals, and of ſpecial Agents of the Directory. I have ſhewn that the laws of France and the Directorial decrees, are themſelves the ſources of thoſe violations of treaties and the law of nations, which have cauſed ſuch immenſe loſſes to the citizens of the United States. And to the proofs already offered, that the information of ſuch aggreſſions and abuſes, particularly in the Weſt Indies, and on the coaſt of America, was not, as the preamble ſuggeſts, but "recently received," I may add, that their "ſpecial

* It will be recollected that this is the Decree of the Executive Directory, ordering the capture and condemnation of American veſſels not having a *role d' equipage*—that fruitful ſource of plunder to Frenchmen, and of ruin to American citizens; and which alſo declared all American ſeamen, making a part of the crew of enemies' ſhips, even when put on board them by force, to be *pirates*, and directed them to be treated as ſuch.

agents"

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gents" authorized those depredations and violations of the law of nations, by decrees assuming the laws of the Republic, the acts of the Executive Directory, for their bases—by decrees printed and published, and undoubtedly from time to time reported by those agents to the Directory itself. Further, these outrages on the American commerce have for years past been the theme of every tongue, and filled columns in our newspapers—those newspapers which Mr. Barlow says, "the office of Foreign Affairs (at Paris) regularly receives." I will conclude this point with the testimony of Mr. Létombe, late Consul General of the French Republic, and still residing in Philadelphia. He has long since, and repeatedly assured me, that he collected all those accounts of depredations and outrages committed by French privateers, and transmitted them to his Government at Paris.

In relation to the depredations and outrages committed by the French on the commerce of the United States, I have said that as *great*, if not as *numerous* abuses were practised by the French in Europe, and even in France itself, as in her remote possessions: and that this fact was but too well known to our citizens who had felt severely their effects. Among these we have seen the case of the ship Hare, Captain Hayley; but never in all its disgusting features. With this I will close my observations on the preamble of the Directorial decree of the 31st July.

Extract of a letter from Rufus King, Esq. Minister of the United States in London, dated September 3, 1798, to the Secretary of State of the United States.

"The pretence for this arreté [the decree of the Directory of July 31st], is of a piece with the vindication of Talleyrand respecting X. Y. and Z. and the justice and sincerity of the Directory should be ascertained, not by their word, but by the following cotemporaneous fact."

"Hayley, an American citizen, master of the American ship Hare, lying in the port of London, laden with a rich cargo, the property of Americans, and bound to New-York, went with my passport from London to Paris, where, in a personal interview, not with the agents of the Minister of Marine, but with *the Minister himself*, he disclosed his plan of bringing the ship Hare and her cargo into France; and to enable him to receive the profits of the fraud, without risking the punishment of piracy, he demanded and received from the Minister of Marine a commission naming him the commander of a privateer that did not exist; with which in his pocket he returned to London, and soon after carried the ship Hare and her cargo as a prize into France.

"The ship and cargo were both claimed by the American owners; and upon the unveiling of this infamous proceeding before the lower tribunals, the judges hesitated; and finally refused to sanction so unheard of a fraud; though, instead of restoring the property to its lawful owners, they on some frivolous pretence adjudged

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adjudged both ſhip and cargo to be good prize to the *nation*—Lately the Tribunal in the laſt reſort, upon the appeal of Hayley, has reverſed the judgment of the lower Court, and "decreed the ſhip and cargo to be condemned as good prize to this renegado."

"If a tranſaction more groſsly corrupt and infamous has occurred in the Weſt Indies—I have not heard of it; and yet with this caſe of unequalled infamy and corruption before them, ſanctioned by the higheſt Tribunals in the nation, the Directory expect to amuſe us with a diſavowal of the conduct of a few ſubaltern agents, in a remote part of their dominions!!!"

Beſides the communications from Mr. Gerry, I have received from Fulwar Skipwith, Eſq. Conſul General of the United States at Paris, three letters dated the 4th, 8th, and 22d of Auguſt, copies of which and of the papers therein referred to, are herewith preſented, excepting the decree of July 31ſt, which appears among the communications from Mr. Gerry. Mr. Skipwith's letter of Auguſt 22d with its incloſures, was delivered to me by Dr. Logan; I had previouſly received the original, which had been brought over by Mr. Woodward of Boſton.

Dr. Logan having been the bearer of the laſt-mentioned communication from the French Government, and his embaſſy having not only engaged the attention of the public, but been made the ſubject of debate in Congreſs, I truſt it will not be deemed improper to introduce into this report ſome circumſtances reſpecting it.

On the 12th of November the Doctor came to me at Trenton; he advanced with eagerneſs, and handed me the packet from Mr. Skipwith. On examining its contents, I told the Doctor that I had already poſſeſſed the ſame papers. I made ſome remarks on the decree of the Directory of the 31ſt of July, to ſhew that it was only oſtenſible and illuſory; and that it would not give any relief to the commerce of the United States. The Doctor, not conteſting my arguments or opinion, ſaid that more was intended to be done; but that the Directory could not accompliſh it of themſelves; ſeeing it depended on the *laws* which the *Legiſlative Councils* alone could change. I anſwered, that this was eaſy to be done: that as the Directory, on the 18th Fructidor [Sept. 4th, 1797] had garbled the two Councils, and baniſhed ſome and diſmiſſed others of the beſt members—all who were firmly oppoſed to their views, and as on the new elections to ſupply the vacancies and the new third of the Councils, the Directory ſent home every new member who was not agreeable to them—every body muſt ſee that the Directory had but to declare its *will* and it would be obeyed. The Doctor ſaid, That the Directory was very well diſpoſed towards the United States, and deſired a reconciliation; that they would promote a reviſion of the laws in regard to privateering, ſo as to put the rights of neutral nations on a juſt footing: but that it would take ſome time to bring this about,

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about, "*the people concerned in privateering having gained a very great influence in the two Councils!*" ——— *!* ——— *!* Is it neceſſary to inquire how this "very great influence" has been obtained? are the leading members owners of privateers? Or do they receive their ſhares of prize-money from thoſe who are? Do the legiſlative councils really act independently of the Directory? Or does the ſame "influence" actuate both?—The printed diſpatches of our Envoys, under the date of October 29, 1797, ſtate, on the information of Mr. Talleyrand's private agent, X. that Merlin, one of the members, and now or late Preſident of the Directory, was to receive no part of the *douceur* demanded of the Envoys, *becauſe he was paid by the owners of privateers*; and in reſpect to the *loan* then demanded, on which ſubject it was ſuggeſted that one of the Envoys ſhould go to America, to conſult the government, the Envoys "aſked Mr. X. if, in the meantime, the Directory would order the American property, not yet paſſed into the hands of the privateerſmen, to be reſtored? He ſaid explicitly that they would not. The Envoys aſked him whether they would ſuſpend further depredations on our commerce? He ſaid they would not: but Mr. Talleyrand obſerved, that on this ſubject we could not ſuſtain much additional injury, becauſe the winter ſeaſon was approaching when few additional captures could be made." Here we ſee our Envoys inquiring—not whether the *two Councils* would ſuſpend thoſe depredations—but whether the *Directory* would do it: and Mr. Talleyrand's agent, X. without intimating that the Directory *wanted power*, or that they could only "endeavor to provoke in the legiſlature, a reviſion of their maritime laws"—anſwered peremptorily, *that the* DIRECTORY *would not ſuſpend the depredations.* The truth is, that it was an act of the *Directory alone*, (their decree of the 2d of March 1797) which authorized and produced more extenſive depredations on the commerce of the United States than any other decree or law of the French Republic. To effect a repeal of that decree, no application to the legiſlative councils could be neceſſary. They could alſo have repealed another of their own decrees, that of the 2d of July, 1796, which ſubjected neutral property, and particularly that of American citizens, to the diſcretion of their Conſuls and cruiſers in the European ſeas, as well as of their privateers and agents in the Weſt Indies, and on which theſe agents have founded other numerous decrees, which have occaſioned thoſe ſhocking depredations and abuſes there, and on the coaſt of the United States, which the Directory, by their decree of the 31ſt of July laſt, *affect* to reſtrain.

When the Executive Directory wiſhed to enlarge the field of depredations on neutral commerce, and on the 4th of January, 1798, propoſed to the two Councils the project of the iniquitous law "to declare to be good prize every veſſel and her cargo, *to whomſoever belonging*, if any part of the cargo came from England or her poſſeſſions"—there was a ready obedience. "The Directory thinks it *urgent* and neceſſary to paſs the law." The plan of a decree is reported

ported to the Council of Five Hundred on the 11th; and "urgency" being declared, is immediately and unanimously adopted. It goes to the Council of Ancients—that Council approves the act of "urgency;" and on the 18th of January the project of the Directory becomes a law.

This law was neceſſary for the French government: ſo many American veſſels had been entrapped by the Directory's decree of March 2d, 1797, requiring the *rôle d'equipage*, that the reſidue were now generally provided with that paper: ſome new pretext was therefore requiſite for "fleecing" the people of the United States of their property: and an ordinance of one of the Kings of France, made near a century paſt, having declared lawful prize, "the veſſels and their cargoes in which was found Engliſh merchandize *belonging to enemies*,"—the Directory declare, that the proviſions of this ordinance *ought to be extended*, to comprehend the veſſels and cargoes of *friends*; that is, of allied and neutral nations. The Directory knew that the United States, whoſe inhabitants were chiefly *cultivators*, required a greater ſupply of Engliſh manufactures than any other neutral country, of equal population; and thoſe manufactures too, were, from the courſe of American commerce, combined with almoſt all our mercantile operations, and pervaded entirely our great coaſting trade. Hence it is evident that this law was chiefly aimed at *them*.

It will be remembered alſo, that this law was paſſed while our three Envoys were at Paris, where they had paſſed three months unheeded by the French Government, except by its indignities—and where they had in vain ſolicited to be heard on the juſt claims of our citizens, plundered and ruined under the former decrees of the Republic. This time was preferred, in order to add inſult to injury. The Envoys had firmly reſiſted her demands of loans and douceurs; and when ſpeaking of their *country*, dared to intimate, that it was *independent*: it was therefore requiſite, on the French ſyſtem, to "chaſtiſe," as well as "fleece" it.

In cloſing this ſubject, it will be proper to notice an aſſertion of Mr. Talleyrand in a converſation with the Envoys on the 2d March, 1798. In reply to ſome obſervations of his reſpecting the proofs of friendſhip required by France from the United States, General Pinckney obſerved, "that the Envoys being in France was a proof of the friendly diſpoſition of our Government; and that while they were there, the French Government had paſſed a decree for ſeizing neutral veſſels having on board any article coming out of England; which in its operation would ſubject to capture all our property on the ocean. Mr. Talleyrand replied, *that this was not particular to us, but was common to all the neutral powers.*" This aſſertion of Mr. Talleyrand is not true. Although the decree in its *terms* is *general*, and *applicable* to *all* the neutral powers, yet in its *operation*, *it was not deſigned to be, and has not been ſo applied*—it has not touched a veſſel of Pruſſia. The motives to this exemption are obvious:

France

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France wiſhed not by irritating Pruſſia, to add ſo powerful a nation, and one ſo near at hand, to the number of her enemies, while her peace with Auſtria remained precarious. But this exemption of Pruſſian veſſels from the operation of a *general law*, merits particular notice. It demonſtrates that there exiſts in the French Republic a *diſpenſing power—a power above the laws—a power which can prevent their execution:* and it is alike demonſtrable that this ſovereign controuling power can exiſt, and in fact does exiſt, in the Executive Directory. It might then, if the Directory deſired it, be exerciſed in the exemption of *American* as well as *Pruſſian* veſſels: But the Directory do not deſire it: we have not yet been ſufficiently "fleeced" and "chaſtiſed."

Mr. Skipwith's letter of the 4th of Auguſt incloſed the Decree of the Executive Directory already noticed, paſſed the 31ſt of July, reſpecting French depredations in the Weſt Indies and on the coaſt of the United States. His letter of the 8th of Auguſt incloſed Mr. Talleyrand's letter to him of the 6th, reſpecting that decree in which it is plain that the Miniſter ſuppoſes the world, and particularly the United States, will be amuſed by that illuſory device, and imagine that it was intended to ſtop abuſes, and give ſecurity to neutral commerce.

Mr. Skipwith's letter of the 22d of Auguſt covers another letter from Mr. Talleyrand, dated the 20th of Auguſt, in which he encloſes copies of two letters from the Miniſter of Marine, reſpecting American ſeamen who had been impriſoned. When, in July laſt, an embargo was laid on the American merchant veſſels in the ports of France, the agents of the Marine took out their crews and threw them into priſon; thus hazarding the loſs of the veſſels, and injuring the men by confinement and the bad proviſions of their jails. Theſe ſeamen were ordered to be releaſed. The other letter from the Miniſter of Marine required that no injury ſhould be done to the ſafety and liberty of the officers and crews of American veſſels *found to be in order*, nor to paſſengers and other citizens of the United States having paſſports and protections.

The ſame letter from Mr. Skipwith encloſed the copy of a Decree of the Directory paſſed the 16th of Auguſt, for taking off the Embargo, laid a month before on American veſſels.

The Decree itſelf occupies but two lines; but its preamble is extended, for the purpoſe of inſulting the *Government* of the United States, when an act of common juſtice was done to ſome of their *citizens*; by inſinuating that the *Government* was "abandoned to the paſſions of the Britiſh cabinet." This, however, is but the repetition of a calumny familiar to French diplomacy, reſpecting other nations as well as our own. Barras, Preſident of the Directory, in his valedictory addreſs to Mr. Munroe, declared that "France would not abaſe herſelf by calculating the conſequences of the condeſcenſion of the American *Government*, to the ſuggeſtions of her former tyrants:" profeſſing at the ſame time great "eſteem for

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for the American *people*." Mr. Adet had before charged the American *Government* with a "*perfidious* condefcenfion to the Engliſh;" and after making his laſt communications to the *Government*, he, by their immediate publication under his orders, *appealed* from the *Government* to the *people* of the United States. Yet Mr. Talleyrand ſays, that the French Government has indeed "complained of the American Government, but to the *Government itſelf*;" meaning to have it underſtood, though carefully avoiding the expreſſion, that it had complained to the *Government alone*. With the like ſophiſtry he attempts to evade our well-founded allegations, that the French Government has made reproachful and injurious diſtinctions between the *Government* and *people* of the United States, endeavouring to *ſeparate* the latter from the former. He ſays "it is utterly *falſe*, notwithſtanding the *public* and private inſinuations which have been made, in private writings and in ſolemn acts, that the French Government has ever ſought to detach the people of the United States from *the Conſtitution they have given themſelves*." Such a charge againſt the French Government has not, that I know, ever been made by the American Government: but we have accuſed them, and *truly*, with endeavours to detach the *people* of the United States from the *Government* choſen by themſelves *to adminiſter* that conſtitution: and this the Miniſter does not attempt to deny. The Directory would perhaps be contented that the *people* ſhould retain the *forms* of "the Conſtitution they have given themſelves," and to which they are attached, provided they would elect to adminiſter it, men devoted to France, and ready to obey the intimations of her will. And becauſe the *people* have not been thus obſequious, but have dared to make a different election, the French Government has expreſſed its "terrible" reſentment. Mr. Barlow has aſſured us, in the paſſage already cited from his letter, that for this ſingle act of the *people* of the United States, in exerciſing freely their right of election, the Directory paſſed a Decree "which was meant to be little ſhort of a declaration of war;" by which it "was determined to *fleece* the people of their property:" certainly in expectation that, by touching their feeling in that "nerve," they would be induced, *in order to ſave their property*, to ſubmit implicitly to the Government of France. Failing in this attempt, the French Government made another, in the decree of the 18th of January, 1798, which, though *general* in its *terms*, I have ſhewn to have been levelled *directly* and *chiefly* at the commerce of the *United States*. And this at the time (as I have before remarked) when three Envoys extraordinary were waiting, month after month, and moſt reſpectfully ſoliciting to be heard, and to enter on the diſcuſſion of all the ſubjects of difference between the two countries; and among theſe, on the French depredations on our commerce. Yet Mr. Talleyrand has the confidence to aſſert, and to Mr. Gerry too, one of thoſe Envoys, that the French Government "never refuſed and never will refuſe to enter into diſcuſſion upon every proper ſubject!"

Does

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Does the Minister mean that *those depredations* are not "a proper subject of discussion?" Yes, with respect to a vast proportion of them. Mr. Y. his private agent, explicitly told our Envoys, that the condemnations of vessels for want of the *role d'equipage* were not to be questioned; "that being a point on which *Merlin*, while Minister of Justice, had written a treatise, and on which the Directory were *decided*."

It is fit here to recollect another and a peremptory refusal of the French Government, "to enter into discussion" upon the subjects of difference between France and the United States.

General Pinckney, appointed the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to the French Republic, went to Paris in the autumn of 1796. There was at first (as in the case of the Envoys extraordinary in 1797) a show of receiving him: but soon the scene was changed; and he was not only refused a hearing, and after bearing a thousand indignities, ordered to leave France; but the predecessor of Mr. Talleyrand, Charles De La Croix, in a letter to Mr. Monroe, intended to be communicated to General Pinckney, declared, (being specially charged to do so by the Directory, and Mr. De La Croix repeated the declaration to General Pinckney's secretary) "That it will not acknowledge nor receive another Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States, until after the redress of the grievances demanded of the American Government, and which the French Republic has a right to expect from it." To this resolution we have seen the Directory adhere; and we have also seen, in the demands it made to our Envoys Extraordinary, as the *indispensable preliminaries* to any negotiation, what it meant by a "redress of grievances," prior to the reception of a Minister from America: it consisted in a *douceur* for the pocket of the Directors and Ministers —in the purchase at par of thirty-two millions of Dutch *Securities*, then worth but half that sum—and in *Loans* as immense and indefinite as their depredations on our commerce.

The same letter from the French Minister De La Croix to Mr. Monroe, affords another proof of the aim and endeavours of the French Government to *separate* the *people* from the Government of the United States. In the sentence next following the above quoted passage, Mr. De La Croix says, "I pray you to be persuaded, citizen Minister, that this determination having become necessary, allows to subsist between the French Republic and the American *people*, the affection founded upon former benefits and reciprocal interests."

If I were to allow myself to make any further reflections on the conduct of France towards the United States, it would be to illustrate the truth of Mr. Barlow's assertion, *That the French Government determined to* FLEECE *us*. If the French Government "listened (as Mr. Talleyrand says it does) to nothing but justice," and really desired a reconciliation, it would have proposed *to fix some measure of satisfaction* for the injuries it said it had received.

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ceived. Or if too proud to propoſe to us, at leaſt it would have preſcribed to itſelf, ſome limit to *repriſals*: or at any rate, it would not have ſpurned us from its preſence, when we reſpectfully preſented ourſelves, ſought a reconciliation, and offered to make a juſt ſatisfaction for every injury we had committed. And if (as Mr. Talleyrand aſſerts) "the French Government has not ceaſed to offer the exact juſtice it demands," it would alſo have permitted us to ſtate our claim.—But it would have been ſo eaſy to aſcertain all the damages we had done; and their amount would have been ſo ſmall; even if we agreed to pay for all Engliſh, Spaniſh, and Dutch veſſels brought by French cruiſers into our ports, while all thoſe nations were at war with France—a few of which the juſtice of the federal courts, *in vindication of the ſovereignty of the United States*, reſcued from the hands of the French Conſuls, Agents, and Privateermen; and if to the amount we alſo added ten times the value of the miſerable corvette Le Caſſius, a veſſel which had been unlawfully fitted out for war in the United States, but which has been the burden of every note from Adet's in 1795, to De la Croix's and Talleyrand's in 1796 and 1798, the amount of the whole, it was known, would be ſo *ſmall*—the French Government did not chooſe to have it *aſcertained*: for then the injuries done by the French to the commerce of the United States muſt alſo have been examined and adjuſted: and when adjuſted, *payment* muſt have been made or ſtipulated: but in this, the French Government, doubtleſs thought "it would find only a real diſadvantage:" the amount of its own demands deducted from thoſe of America, would hardly ſeem to have diminiſhed the latter.

Such a mutual adjuſtment would alſo have been accompanied with a ſettlement of all queſtions and diſputes about the conſtruction of treaties, and all other ſubjects of difference: But in this alſo the French Government, upon its own ſyſtem, "would have found a real diſadvantage." For it would have vaſtly reduced the field for privateering in the European ſeas, and in the Weſt-Indies it would have been nearly annihilated: for there, for every veſſel taken from the *enemies* of France, her cruiſers have probably captured twenty belonging to the *United States*. But the French Government, by always abſtaining from making ſpecific demands of damages—by refuſing to receive our Miniſters—by at length propoſing to negotiate in a mode which it knew to be impracticable,—with the perſon who had no powers, and who therefore conſtantly refuſed to negotiate—and thus wholly avoiding a negotiation—it has kept open the field for complaints of wrongs and injuries, in order, by leaving them undefined, to furniſh pretences for unlimited depredations.

In this way "it determined to *fleece* us:" In this way it gratified its *avarice and revenge*—and it hoped alſo to ſatiate its *ambition*. After a long ſeries of inſults unreſented, and a patient

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endurance of enjuries aggravated in their nature and unexampled in their extent—that Government expected our final ſubmiſſion to its will. Our reſiſtance has excited its ſurprize; and as certainly increaſed its reſentment. With ſome ſoothing expreſſions, is heard the voice of wounded pride. Warmly profeſſing its deſire of reconciliation, it gives no evidence of its ſincerity; but proofs in abundance demonſtrate that it is not ſincere. From ſtanding erect, and in that commanding attitude requiring implicit obedience,—cowering, it renounces ſome of its unfounded demands. But I hope we ſhall remember "that the Tyger crouches before he leaps upon his prey."

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

Dapartment of State,
January 18, 1799.

The following Meſſage was received in the Houſe of Repreſentatives yeſterday:

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

In purſuance of the requeſt in your reſolve of yeſterday, I lay before you ſuch information as I have received, touching a ſuſpenſion of the arret of the French republic, communicated to your houſe by my meſſage of the 28th of January laſt. But if the execution of that arret be ſuſpended, or even if it were repealed, it ſhould be remembered that the arret of the Executive Directory of the 2d of March, 1797, remains in force; the third article of which ſubjects explicitly and excluſively American ſeamen to be treated as pirates, if found on board ſhips of the enemies of France.

JOHN ADAMS.

United States, Feb. 15, 1799.

Extract of a letter from Rufus King, Eſq. Miniſter Plenipotentiary, &c. London, to the Secretary of State, dated 28th November, 1798.

"Annexed I ſend you a copy of a note from Lord Grenville, reſpecting the French arrete tranſmitted to you with my No. 9. A late French paper

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per contains a ſecond arrette, which poſtpones the execution of the firſt."

Lord Grenville to Mr. King.—The underſigned, his Majeſty's Secretary of State for foreign affairs, has the honor of communicating to Mr. King, Plenipotentiary for the United States of America, for the information of his government, that by a decree publiſhed officially at Paris, it appears to have been declared in the name of the French Directory, that every perſon being a native of, or originally belonging to neutral countries, or to ſuch as are in amity and alliance with the French Republic, who ſhall bear any commiſſion under his Majeſty; or who ſhall form a part of the crews of any Britiſh ſhips of war or other veſſels, ſhould, on the proof of that fact alone, be conſidered and treated as a pirate, and that it has been ordered that this reſolution ſhall be notified to the neutral powers and to thoſe in alliance with France.

Even this decree, contrary as it is to the uſages of every civilized nation, cannot excite any ſurprize, as proceeding from thoſe in whoſe name it has been publiſhed. To the different powers who are thus inſulted, and whoſe innocent ſubjects are expoſed to the moſt cruel treatment on the part of a government profeſſing friendſhip or alliance with them, his Majeſty muſt leave it to adopt ſuch meaſures as they will, without doubt, judge neceſſary, in the caſe of an outrage, hitherto unexampled in the hiſtory of the world.

The King however feels, that protection is alſo due from him to thoſe who ſail under his flag, either in his Majeſty's ſhips of war or in other Britiſh veſſels; his Majeſty has not therefore heſitated to direct it to be ſignified to the Commiſſary for French priſoners in Great Britain, that the firſt inſtance of the execution of this decree, ſhall be followed

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lowed by the moſt rigorous retaliation againſt the French priſoners whom the fortune of war has already, or may hereafter place at the King's diſpoſal.

It would certainly never be but with extreme reluctance, that the King could yield to the painful neceſſity of expoſing ſo many unfortunate individuals to the fatal but inevitable effects of this atrocious decree; but his Majeſty will have, at leaſt, the ſatisfaction of feeling that nothing has been omitted on his part to prevent its execution, and that the authors of it can alone be conſidered reſponſible for all its guilt and all its conſequences.

GRENVILLE.

Downing-ſtreet,
Nov. 27, 1798.

Gentlemen of the Senate,

I tranſmit to you a document which ſeems to be intended to be a compliance with the condition mentioned, at the concluſion of my meſſage to Congreſs, of the 21ſt June laſt.

Always diſpoſed and ready to embrace every *plauſible appearance* of *probability* of preſerving or reſtoring tranquillity—I nominate Wm. Vans Murray, our Miniſter reſident at the Hague, to be Miniſter Plenipotentiary to the French Republic.

If the Senate ſhall adviſe and conſent to his appointment, effectual care ſhall be taken in his inſtructions, that he ſhall not go to France without direct and unequivocal aſſurances from the French government, ſignified by their miniſter of exterior relations, that he ſhall be received in character; ſhall enjoy the privileges attached to his character, by the laws of nations; and that a miniſter of equal rank, title, and powers, ſhall be appointed to treat

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with him, to discuss and conclude all controversies between the two republics, by a new treaty.

JOHN ADAMS.

United States, Feb. 18, 1799. } [A COPY.]

[COPY.]

Liberty. (L. S.) *Equality.*

Exterior Relations, 3d Division.

PARIS, 7th Vendemaire of the 7th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

The Minister of Exterior Relations, to Citizen Pichon, Secretary of Legation of the French Republic, near the Batavian Republic.

I have received successively, citizen, your letters of the 22d and 27th Fructidor; they afford me more and more reason to be pleased with the manner you have adopted, to detail to me your conversations with Mr. Murray. These conversations at first, merely friendly, have required consistency, by the sanction I have given to them by my letter of the 11th Fructidor. I do not regret that you have trusted to Mr. Murray's honour, a copy of my letter. It was intended for you only, and contained nothing but what is conformable to the intentions of government. I am thoroughly convinced, that should explanations take place with confidence, between the two administrations, irritations would cease, a cloud of misrepresentations would disappear, and the ties of friendship would be more strongly united, as each party would discover the hand that sought to disunite them.

But I will not conceal from you, that your letters of the 2d and 3d Vendemaire, just received, surprize me much. What Mr. Murray is still dubious of, has been explicitly declared, even before the President's

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President's message to Congress, of the 3d Messidor last, was known in France. I had written it to Mr. Gerry, namely on the 24th Messidor and 4th Thermidor. I did not repeat it to him before he set out. A whole paragraph of my letter to you of the 11th Fructidor, of which Mr. Murray has a copy, is devoted to develope still more the fixed determination of the French government, according to these bases. You were right to assert, that whatever plenipotentiary the government of the United States might send to France, to put an end to existing differences between the two countries, would be undoubtedly received with the respect due to the representative of a free, powerful, and independent nation.

I cannot, citizen, conceive that the American government need any further declarations from us to induce them to renew the negociations, to adopt such measures as would be suggested to them by their desire to bring the differences to a peaceable end.

If misunderstandings on both sides have prevented former explanations from reaching that end, it is presumable that those misunderstandings being done away, nothing henceforth will bring obstacles to the reciprocal dispositions. The President's instructions to his envoys at Paris, which I have only known by the copy given you by Mr. Murray, and received by me on the 21st Messidor, announcing (if they contain the whole of the American government's instructions) dispositions which could only have been added to those which the Directory has always entertained; and notwithstanding the irritating and almost hostile measures they have adopted, the Directory has manifested its perseverance in the sentiments which are deposited both in my correspondence with Mr. Gerry, and in my letter to you of the 11th Fructidor, and which I

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have herein before repeated in the moſt explicit manner. Carry therefore, citizen, to Mr. Murray, thoſe poſitive expreſſions, in order to convince him of our ſincerity, and prevail upon him to tranſmit them to his government.

I preſume, citizen, that this letter will find you at the Hague; if not, I aſk that it may be ſent back to you at Paris.

Salute and fraternity,

(Signed) CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

In a few days after the foregoing meſſage was delivered to the Congreſs, and publiſhed, a report was ſpread abroad, that Mr. ADAMS, without conſulting thoſe officers of the government, who had always been conſulted on ſimilar occaſions, had ſent a meſſage to the Senate, propoſing to ſend a new embaſſy to France.—This report brought forth the following articles from me, which were firſt publiſhed on the 19th of February, and the following day.

For theſe two days laſt paſt there has been a moſt atrocious falſehood in circulation. The "*True Americans*," *Duane* and *Bradford*, have roundly aſſerted, that the Preſident of the United States has intimated, by meſſage to the Senate, that he has reſolved on ſending *another Plenipotentiary to treat with the French Republic!!!* Every one muſt perceive falſehood on the front of this; yet have the audacious wretches above-mentioned dared to promulgate it, without heſitation; nay they have even *named the plenipotentiary*, (Mr. Murray, now at the Hague) and Bradford has gone ſo far as to ſay that he derives his information from *a Senator*, who told him beſides, that Mr. Murray was not *to leave Holland*, 'till *he* had the moſt unequivocal aſſurance that he would be properly received at Paris!

I have

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I have not, indeed, made any inquiry into the matter, nor do I think it worth while. I have ſuch reſpect for the Preſident, too much confidence in his wiſdom, to ſuppoſe the thing poſſible. He has repeatedly declared that *nothing was to be hoped for from the juſtice of France*; all his ſpeeches, his meſſages, and his anſwers to addreſſes, ſpeak the ſame language; they inculcate the impolicy of ever truſting to the promiſes of the rulers of France; and in one of his meſſages he ſolemnly delares, that *he never will ſend another miniſter to treat with her, 'till* HE *receives ample aſſurances of his being received as the miniſter of a great, powerful, free, and independent nation!* After this, would it not be the groſſeſt inſult to ſuppoſe it poſſible for him not only to ſend another miniſter, but to *leave that miniſter to judge of the aſſurances reſpecting his reception?*

Ever ſince the Preſident has been in the chair, he has been complaining of the conduct of France. He has publiſhed the injuries of America to the world in volumes; he has made the welkin ring with her cries, and, latterly, with her threats of revenge; and, ſhall we believe that her wounds are to be healed, and all her mortal wrath aſſuaged, by one ſoothing letter from the pen of Talleyrand to the ſentimental Mr. Murray! And ſhall we believe, that a negociation, which was thought of ſuch importance, as to require the united wiſdom of three of the moſt profound and experienced politicians in America, can now be entruſted to one man, and he of very ſlender political abilities? Shall we believe that this negociation is now looked upon as a mere *bye job*, which an Envoy at the Hague may perform in a trip to Paris, without any interruption to his ordinary functions?

With the very laſt meſſage to the Houſe of Repreſentatives, the Preſident ſends the houſe a copy of a letter from Lord Grenville to Mr. King, which clearly

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clearly proves the existence of a French decree, for *putting to death* all Americans found on board ships belonging to the enemies of France. Lord Grenville calls this *an atrocious decree, unexampled in the annals of the world*, and assures the American minister of the King's resolution to protect those Americans who may be found under his flag, or to revenge their death by the most rigorous retaliation on Frenchmen. This the President certainly communicated, by way of example, to Congress; and, lest they should count upon the *suspension* of the decree, he tells them to "remember that the arret "of the Executive Directory of the 2d of March, "1797, remains in force; the third article of which "subjects *explicitly and exclusively American seamen to* "*be treated as pirates, if found on board ships of the* "*enemies of France.*"—Now, this message was sent to the house on Saturday last, and can it be believed, that the man, who gave this under his hand and seal on *Saturday*, could on *Monday*, propose to send another minister to treat with the very power who had passed, and who still held unrepealed, the bloody decrees of which he complains?

I will not expatiate on the *consequences* of such a step on the part of the President, because I cannot suppose the step itself within the compass of possibility; but, I will just observe, that had he taken such a step, it would have been instantaneously followed by the loss of every friend worth his preserving. To gain and to preserve friends, a statesman must act with vigour, steadiness, and consistency; he must encourage his friends by shewing them that he profits from their friendship; he must clap his own shoulder to the wheel and maintain the ground that has been gained for him; for, those men must be more than mortal, who will persevere in the Sysiphian task of supporting a government that is everlastingly recoiling.

The

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The Nomination.—When in yesterday's paper, I endeavoured to convince my readers of the total falsehood of the report respecting *a renewal of the negotiation with France*, I proceeded only upon presumption, upon the internal evidence. I have since heard nothing to alter my opinion, and I feel happy in the assurance that I never shall.

Those who ground their belief of the report on the positive manner in which it is given by Mother Bache, will be pleased to recollect, that she (or Duane) was equally positive in asserting that the President had quarrelled with the British Ambassador, and *had actually suspended his functions!* After the promulgation of a falsehood so impudent as this, what reliance can be placed in any assertion from the same press?

Confident as I am that this calumnious report is a mere fabrication, intended to alienate the President's friends from him at this momentous crisis, and to sink his character in the eyes of all Europe, as well as America, I shall keep to my resolution of yesterday, not to comment on the *consequences* of the odious measure, which this slanderous newspaper tells us is adopted; but, I cannot refrain from inserting here a few paragraphs from *Duane*, which afford the very best criterion for judging of the effects, which such a measure would have produced.

From the Aurora.—"Whatever sentiments men may entertain of the *President's attachment to English modes of government, or to English connections*, every one must applaud his appointment of *Mr. Murray* to go to Paris. It is satisfactory too to find that *Mr. Gerry's assurances*, and *Dr. Logan's assurances* of a sincere pacific disposition in France towards us, is confirmed *by the President himself*—notwithstanding that *injudicious and violent production of Mr. Pickering*, presented to Congress,

Numerous

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Numerous ſurmiſes were in circulation yeſterday concerning the new miſſion to France, ſome would have it that it was but a foil to divert public attention from the enormous army meaſures—others that it indicated a peace on the continent of Europe—and others would have it that it was no more than a renewal of an old farce; in whatever light others may take it, *we conſider it as a very pleaſant matter* to tell.

It was not the appointment of *Mr. Murray* to France that gave the Speaker the *head-ache*, or that made Mr. Pickering *peeviſh* on Tueſday morning—theſe occurrences are not *rare!*

All that the *great* Mr. Allen has ſaid about the terrible republic, appears to be mere *brutum fulmen* —a *left-handed* catalogue of prognoſtics;—the Preſident has proved that notwithſtanding this *great* man's high blood, he is but a *falſe prophet!*

The prudence manifeſted in ſuch happy time by the Preſident of the United States muſt lead us to believe that he, like his predeceſſor, has been deluded and deceived, by men, whoſe intrigues are too deeply laid to be eaſily expoſed to open view.

There is *one man*, whoſe *wily intrigues*, whoſe *ſhocking depravity*, are known from one end of the continent to the other—this man always aiming to be the head of a party, has always by his indiſcretion, or the want of a juſt ſenſe of vice or public decency, conſtantly thwarted his direct views, and compelled him to act for his ambition out of the public view."

Thus the Preſident, had he taken the ſtep with which this wretch accuſes him, may ſee in theſe paragraphs what would have been his fate. Had he propoſed the renewal of the negotiation, the gibes of *Duane* muſt have killed him; to ſee himſelf *praiſed* for having exchanged the councils of *Mr. Pickering*, *Mr. Hamilton*, and *Mr. Allen*, for thoſe

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thoſe of *GERRY* and *LOGAN* muſt have crudled his blood. It would have been impoſſible for a man of his high ſenſe of honour to exiſt under the infamy of ſuch an eulogium!

Gentlemen of the Senate,

The propoſition of a freſh negotiation with France, in conſequence of advances made by the French Government, having excited ſo general an attention and ſo much converſation, as to have given occaſion to many manifeſtations of the public opinion, by which it appears to me that a new modification of the embaſſy will give more general ſatisfaction to the nation, and perhaps better anſwer the purpoſes we have in view.

It is upon this ſuppoſition, and with this expectation, I now nominate Oliver Elſworthy, Eſq. Chief Juſtice of the United States, Patrick Henry, Eſq. late Governor of Virginia, and William Vans Murray, our Miniſter reſident at the Hague, to be Envoys Extraordinary and Miniſters Plenipotentiary to the French Republic, with full powers to diſcuſs and ſettle by a treaty all controverſies between the United States and France.

It is not intended that the two former of theſe gentlemen ſhall embark for Europe until they ſhall have received from the Executive Directory direct and unequivocal aſſurances, ſigned by their Secretary of foreign relations, that they ſhall enjoy the prerogatives attached to that character by the law of nations, and that a miniſter or miniſters of equal power ſhall be appointed and commiſſioned to treat with them *.

JOHN ADAMS.

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* This "*modification* of the Embaſſy was produced by my publications. *See the Articles publiſhed in October* 1799.

Superlative

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Superlative Baſeneſs.—The following paragraph, juſt as it ſtands here, appeared in NOAH WEBSTER'S paper of yeſterday morning.

"☞ It was reported at Philadelphia on Sunday "that the Editor of Porcupine's Gazette had been "ordered by Government to leave the United "States."

It is notorious that this ſame report has circulated in all directions, and that it was *generally believed* in this city on Saturday and Sunday laſt; its becoming an article of news with Webſter is not, therefore, at all aſtoniſhing, or worthy of notice; but, it is proper to obſerve that where ſuch a report could poſſibly gain belief, there muſt be an inherent baſeneſs in a vaſt proportion of the people. They all knew well that I had done nothing to render myſelf a *ſuſpected* perſon; they knew that what little property I had was *here*; they knew that I could not be *in the intereſt of the enemy*. Even ſuppoſing me to have *libelled* the Preſident, they knew that this could not warrant his ordering me out of the country: the *Alien Bill* authorizes him to order away *ſuſpected* foreigners, but it gives him no authority to exerciſe this power *as a puniſhment for crimes againſt the laws*; much leſs does it authorize him to employ a law, intended for the preſervation of the State, *as the means of gratifying his own private revenge.*

I do not ſay this from the ſuppoſition that the Preſident has felt an inclination to order me away. I *know* he never has felt, and I know he never will feel any ſuch inclination; but, I ſtate theſe circumſtances in order to ſhew, in its true light, the degradation of mind that muſt prevail where ſuch a report could gain belief. The *Alien Law* was made to empower the Preſident to remove *foreigners ſuſpected of being in the intereſt of the ENEMY*. This is the very ground on which the report of the Committee has defended it; the people, therefore,

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therefore, who could believe that the Preſident had ordered *me* to remove, in virtue of this law; who could lend a patient ear to the ſtory, and tamely acquieſce in the meaſure, muſt have loſt every idea of juſtice and of freedom, muſt be ſunk to the loweſt degree of ſervility, and muſt be ready to tender their hands and their feet to the firſt enterprizing tyrant that will condeſcend to load them with his chains.

I have hitherto proceeded upon the ſuppoſition that I had really "abuſed" the Preſident, as Mr. Simpleton called it, and publiſhed a *libel* againſt him. That it ſhould be the *general belief*, that the Preſident had ordered me to remove, that he had forced me to embark with a wife and children at this ſeaſon of the year, and to abandon every farthing's-worth of my property;—*this belief*, even on the ſuppoſition that I had "*abuſed*" and *libelled* the Preſident, would be a moſt damning proof of prevalent baſeneſs; what then ſhall we call it, how ſhall we call it, how ſhall we find words to expreſs our contempt of the wretches who entertained it, when we conſider, that *they knew* I never had publiſhed a word with regard to the Preſident, that could poſſibly be conſtrued even into *diſreſpect*?

Let it not be imagined, that any thing I have here ſaid is intended as an indirect appeal to the *lenity* of the Preſident. I repeat, that I *know* he never thought of ordering me away. I have ever had the fulleſt reliance on his juſtice; but, had it ſo happened, that he had been as unjuſt as the whiſpering, ſhrugging ſlaves have ſuppoſed him; and he ſent me his *mandate to depart*, I ſhould have received it with a ſmile. Bleſſed be God! I have a HOME *.

* I was too *ſure* on this ſubject; for I was afterwards informed, by thoſe who knew the fact, that the Old Man really thought of ſending me off, but was oppoſed in his project by the Attorney General!

The

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The Packet.—The following New-York article was copied into Mr. *Fenno's* paper of Saturday evening. He took it, it appears, from that vehicle of lies and malice, the *Commercial Advertiſer.*

'A circumſtance occurred yeſterday, which has 'highly excited the attention of the public.

'Conformably to our duty we have taken conſi-'derable pains to procure as correct information 'on the ſubject as could be obtained. We believe 'the following outlines are pretty correct.

'A perſon in this city had a ſmall demand againſt 'one of the hands (we believe the Steward) of the 'Britiſh Packet Cheſterfield; and, as the latter re-'fuſed payment, alledging of its not being juſtly 'owing, the creditor procured a *capias* from the 'Court, which one of the Marſhals was directed to 'execute. Captain Jones refuſed to ſuffer the exe-'cution of the arreſt, and threatened the Marſhal in 'caſe he ſhould perſiſt.

'The officer came aſhore, and lodged his com-'plaint with the proper authority, who ordered 'Capt. Jones to be arreſted for his interference to 'prevent the execution of the laws.

'Upon his arreſt, he ordered the colours of his 'ſhip to be ſtruck and the mail to be ſunk, which 'were done. The packet was juſt preparing for 'her depurture.

'Capt. Jones left this city yeſterday afternoon for 'Philadelphia.'

This is, perhaps, one of the moſt ſcandalous tranſactions that ever diſgraced a country calling itſelf civilized.—The newſpapers, according to their uſual cuſtom, have ſhamefully miſrepreſented the moſt material circumſtance.—"A perſon in this city had "a ſmall demand againſt one of the hands (we be-"lieve the Steward) of the Britiſh Packet, &c. &c. —Now, would not any one be led by this to believe, that the Steward of his Majeſty's Packet owed money,

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ney, of which he wiſhed to defraud his creditor, and of courſe, that the Captain, by his conduct, wiſhed to *ſhelter him from juſtice*, and aſſiſt him in the fraud? Muſt not this be the opinion of every one who has no other information on the ſubject than what he derives from the ſtatement above quoted?—It certainly muſt.

The fact is this:—The Steward of the Packet hired a car to carry ſeveral parcels down to the wharf where the veſſel lay. When the car arrived, he found that one of the parcels was either *loſt* or *purloined*, and he, of courſe, inſiſted on the carman's producing it. The carman did not underſtand any thing about *reſponſibility*; but the Steward, who had the misfortune to be brought up under a *deſpotiſm*, where reſponſibility for things committed to one's care is a part of the law of the land, perſevered in demanding his parcel, till the citizen carman grew impatient, and felt his honour, as well as that of his horſe, conſiderably wounded. Finding that the Steward was reſolved not to pay him the "*ſmall demand*" (viz. a quarter of a dollar) till the parcel was found, and having no inclination to find it, he went to a magiſtrate, or court, or a ſomething, and immediately obtained a writ or a warrant of ſome kind againſt his "*creditor*," and ſent it to be executed by ſome under officer, no matter of what ſort. The Captain of the Packet ordered the fellow out of his veſſel, putting him in mind, at the ſame time, of the circular letter of Mr. Stoddart to the captains of American public veſſels.—The conſtable returned, and complained againſt the Captain. In a few minutes came down the whole poſſe; the Captain and his people ſtill made a reſiſtance, and would have driven off the boarders, but the ſovereign people now poured into the veſſel from all quarters, and the Captain was knocked down and made priſoner. Seeing himſelf overpowered, and

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his ſhip in poſſeſſion of the enemy, he called out to his Mate to obey that part of his inſtructions which requires him, in a like caſe, *to throw the mail overboard and hawl down his colours*; and, in my opinion, he did perfectly right. Had I been in his place, and had had a dozen barrels of gunpowder in the hold, I certainly ſhould have given the ſovereign people a *hoiſt*. A man would expire glorioufly in ſuch an act of vengeance.

The *Captain* and *Steward* were dragged before ſome magiſtrate who began to put ſome queſtions to the former; but he, very properly, refuſed to anſwer him. He was kept confined about half an hour, then it was diſcovered that *he* was no *priſoner*, and that he might go *about his buſineſs!*

The ſeizing of the captain at all was a direct violation of the law of nations: *no caſe* could authorize it, if the maxims of Mr. Stoddart's letter be allowed of; and how outrageous then muſt the tranſaction appear, when it is known that the cauſe was *an unjuſt charge of a quarter of a dollar*, and that the ſovereign citizen who proſecuted for the ſame, ought himſelf to have been proſecuted for a breach of truſt!

I hear that *Captain Jones* is the object of much abuſe amongſt many people for having deſtroyed the letters. They ſay, that *he knew there were no diſpatches from the Britiſh Miniſter* on board, and that he threw the mail overboard *to ſpite the merchants of New York and Philadelphia!* Silly idea! How ſhould he know any thing about the Miniſter's diſpatches? What ſpite ſhould he have againſt the merchants? In fact, this ſtory has been engendered by the vexation of thoſe who had letters on board, and who, rather than be put to the trouble of writing duplicates, would ſee Captain Jones and every other Captain in the King's fleet walk *contentedly* handcuffed about New-York, amidſt the ſhouts of the many-headed ſovereign. The honour of a Britiſh

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tiſh Captain and of the Britiſh flag is nothing when compared with the intereſt or the *mere convenience* of theſe people. Thank heaven, the King's officers think differently! Captain Jones is entitled to the applauſe of every Briton, and he will moſt aſſuredly receive that of his Goverment. He acted in every reſpect as became him. He reſiſted the outrageous aggreſſion as long as he was able; when overpowered he ſunk the mail leſt it ſhould be rifled by thoſe who had ſeized on him, and he ſtruck his Majeſty's flag that it might not be diſgraced by waving over the heads of his aſſailants.

This is not the firſt time that outrages on the Packets have been committed at New-York. What conſequences they may finally produce I know not; but, I know that an *immediate conſequence* ought to be, a diſcontinuation of them *to New-York*. I would ſend them no where, till I had aſſurances of their being *protected by the Federal Government*; and even upon the receipt of thoſe aſſurances, I would never again ſend them to New-York. Egg-harbour is nearer *by one half* to the ſeat of Government; an expreſs can come from there in half the time: a ſtage goes regularly between here and there; it is a poſt town; there the Packet would find every thing ſhe ſtood in need of, and would meet with no inſults.

N. B. I do not accuſe *Mr. Fenno* of a wiſh to *miſrepreſent*; but I hope that he will in future be more careful in quoting from the papers of New-York. He ought to recollect, that he is in ſome meaſure *reſponſible for the effects of all ſuch quotations*; becauſe, what is *doubted*, and even regarded as a *lie*, when ſeen in thoſe vehicles of malice, is looked upon as *truth*, when it appears in *his Gazette*.

From Mr. Fenno's Paper.—Seneca ſays ſomewhere in his Chapter of Benefits, "Pro beneficentia Aga-

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memnonem ulti ſunt Achivi." This is ſtill, and ever will be, the natural courſe of national ingratitude. As a nation loſes that proud and virtuous ſpirit, that reſents an injury; and is ready to bow at the feet of a haughty tyrant, to bare her back for the knout he holds in his hand, ſhe will become ungrateful and inſolent to her benefactors. While the Jacobins are ſtraining their talents to the utmoſt, to drench this poor degraded country once more with the cup of humiliation: while they catch, with eagerneſs, at the leaſt *plauſible appearance of a probability*, at the very ſhadow of a mouſe hair, to humble us, *once more*, at the feet of the proud Directory, with whom, *indeed*, it is a diſgrace to be at peace, their underſtrappers, the baſe Sanſculloterie of New York, are inſulting the officers of the Britiſh Packet. A petty demand of fifty cents, claimed by an inſolent carman, is ſufficient to produce a warrant for ſeizing the perſon of an officer on board the king's ſhip. The commander very properly interferes to repel the inſult; he is arreſted juſt as the ſhip is ready to ſail, and dragged through the ſtreets, followed by a clamarous and brutal mob. So while your enemies are robbing you of millions, with every circumſtance of inſult and cruelty, and you are, nevertheleſs, ſighing for a reconciliation with the dear ſiſter republic, you have ſpirit enough to requite, with baſe ingratitude, the only power on earth, that now hinders her from viſiting your ſtore-houſes, your farms, your chambers, and your houſehold goods. "Quis hæc quo tendant non videt." Hear, America! the warning voice of the angel in the apocalypſe; "Come out from among them, my people, partake not of their ſins, leſt you partake alſo of their plagues."

The Packet.—I have juſt learned, that the Captain of the Packet has ſucceeded in raiſing the mail

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mail which he threw overboard, and that the letters are very little injured indeed, *not a ſeal being broken.* This is very fortunate; but, for my part, I would rather the mail ſhould have been burnt, or rotted a thouſand times over, than have remained one ſingle moment at the command of the Sovereign People.

The conduct of the American magiſtrates towards the Britiſh, and that towards the French, exhibit a very curious contraſt. I myſelf have ſeen the crew of a French veſſel parading the ſtreets of Philadelphia with drawn ſwords; I have ſeen them drive the people before them like ſheep running from wolves; I have ſeen them cut and ſlaſh the conſtables juſt as if they were ſo many of the army of an enemy; and I have ſeen all this paſs off with impunity. Never did the Sovereign People of Philadelphia complain of this; never did they aſſemble in hundreds to ſeize hold of the Captain, and drag him before a magiſtrate. But, behold how the Sovereign's reſentment broke out, and how diligent the magiſtrates and their ſubalterns were, the moment they heard that one of the Britiſh Packets had withheld *a quarter of a dollar* from a carman!— "Straws" (to make uſe of Callender's old hackneyed proverb) "Straws ſerve to ſhow which way "the wind blows." And theſe little indications of the Sovereign's ſentiments, of his tame ſubmiſſion to France, and his Lynx-like watchfulneſs for occaſions of venting his hatred againſt Great Britain, clearly prove that a *patched up peace* with the former power will very ſoon be followed by *a war* with the latter. Let the Britiſh Merchants and Manufacturers look to it!

Chemiſtry. — The ingenious and ſcientific *Mr. George Hunter*, of Second-ſtreet, lately publiſhed, in The True American, an account of an analyſis

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which he had made of the water of this city; he informed the learned world, that he had extracted lime, magnesia, salt, dirt, &c. out of it. Seeing his ability in this way, I should be glad if he would inform me, *what sort of liquor* will yield *newspapers* in the greatest quantity. QUIZ.

In consequence of the *Chemical* article, which appeared in my Gazette of last evening, I believe the famous *Analyser of Second-street* really entertained hopes of a job; for his subaltern was at my house in less than half an hour after the paper was out, and wished very much to obtain *every information* from my people. This errand puts me in mind of that on which the conjuror, Sidrophel, sent his under devil:

> "*Whachum*, quoth he, look yonder; some
> "To try or use our art are come;
> "The one's the learned knight; *seek out*,
> "And *pump 'em* what they come about."

Mr. George Hunter will, however, find me rather harder to work than the one-handled wooden machine in Mifflin's alley; and, should he even succeed *in pumping up* my contents, I verily believe he will feel little inclination to go into an *analysis* of them.——Still I repeat my question:—"What "sort of *liquor* will yield *newspapers* in the greatest "quantity?"

N. B. Mr. Hunter's intimacy with Priestley might, perhaps, sanction his asking the aid of that experienced philosopher in solving this problem.

New Insurrection!—"If the provisional army be "not raised without delay, a *civil war*, or a *surren-* "*der of Independence*, is not at more than a twelve- "month's distance." *Porcupine*, 10*th Nov.* 1798.

I most sincerely hope, that events may not justify the burning of me for a Wizzard! The follow-

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ing article, which is taken from the Gazette of the United States, ſeems to threaten an accompliſhment of my prediction. God forbid it ſhould be accompliſhed; but, if ſome meaſures are not taken to quel this dangerous riſing, before it aſſumes a conſiſtency ſufficient to encourage other parts of the country to follow the example, the tax will never be paid, and, of courſe, *the Federal Government cannot be ſupported.*

Another inſurrection has broken out in the weſtern parts of this State, which bears a more ſerious and formidable aſpect, than that of Gallatin and the other patriots in the mountains.

That active and ſpirited officer, Colonel William Nichols, Marſhal of the diſtrict of Pennſylvania, returned yeſterday to the city, from a journey to Northampton county, and immediately laid before the Preſident a detail of recent tranſactions there, of which the following, we believe, will be found to be a correct outline:

A very ſerious oppoſition to the laws had, for ſome time, manifeſted itſelf in the rebellious county of Northampton, and it became neceſſary for the Marſhal to aſſert the authority of government. He accordingly proceeded to the ſcene of inſurrection, and arreſted twenty-three perſons, for ſundry acts of reſiſtance to the operation of the law impoſing a tax on houſes. The Marſhal had taken recognizances of the priſoners, and they ſubmitted to his authority with apparent acquieſcence.

A Wizzard!!!—I am abſolutely a Wizzard, in other matters as well as politics. Several perſons, ſome months back, expreſſed their aſtoniſhment, that *Saml. F. Bradford* ſhould be admitted to a partnerſhip with his father, both in the printing and the bookſelling buſineſs, while the other ſons had no participation in either. "Stop a bit," ſaid I, "'till

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"SAM. is *safely married*, and you'll soon see that the "good old Lord Thomas has not forgotten the "rest of his progeny."—SAM. was "safely married" only on *Thursday last*, and, as I am a sinner, his name, on the sign-board, has already given place to that of his brother!!!———Prudent, loving, accommodating family!

———

The Honor of a Lie.—Men have often contended for the honor of having been the first promulgators of *Truth*; Bradford and Brown have quarrelled for that of promulgating a *Lie*. They each of them published an account of a rencontre between the Ganges sloop of war, (Captain *Tingy*) and the British frigate, the Surprize. Both told the public a most infamous falsehood, and then disputed for the preference. Bradford, in order to carry off the palm, asserted that *his* account was *official*, while that of his worthy competitor for mercantile patronage was nothing more than hearsay. As the substance of each account amounted to an assurance, that the American Captain had, with impunity, *insulted a British man of war*, they gave equal satisfaction; but as Bradford, by dint of superior impudence, had made his *official*, he certainly was fast gaining ground on his fellow-labourer.—In the mean time Captain Tingy arrives at Norfolk, and, in *justification of his character*, he publishes to the world a letter, which at once puts an end to the dispute, by proving both the disputants to be LIARS!——Fenno was right when he said, that "The American newspapers "are the most base, false, servile, and venal publica- "tions, that ever polluted the fountains of society: "their Editors the most ignorant, vulgar, and mer- "cenary automatons, that ever were moved by the "continually rusting wires of sordid mercantile "avarice."——This is a most severe satire on the understanding and disposition of "a vast propor- "tion"

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"tion" of the community; but, it is not more ſevere than juſt.

Bompard and the Ambuſcade. — Amongſt all the captures, made by the Britiſh navy during this glorious war, none has given me more pleaſure than that of *Citizen Bompard* and the *frigate Ambuſcade*, taken lately by Sir J. B. Warren. — I remember, when I lived at Wilmington, having a moſt furious quarrel with a juſtice of the peace about this very Ambuſcade. She was coming up to Philadelphia, with her tricolor flying at maſt-head. "There," ſays my juſtice, "there is the flag that will chaſe that of your king off from the ocean."—"I'll lay you five guineas," replied I, "that that frigate is "carried into a Britiſh port in leſs than ſix months." —His worſhip curſed and damned like a trooper. I forget whether or not I fully repaid his politeneſs, but I am ſure I did my beſt; and I now beg leave to remind his worſhip, that I was wrong only in point of *time*.

The people of Philadelphia cannot have forgotten the boozing frolics that Governor Miffling and his officers had on board this frigate. I have ſeen all her crew dancing the Carmagnole before his door, with their ruffian-looking Captain in the midſt of them; and the next day I ſaw them chop the hands of the conſtables in the ſtreets, and chaſe the people into their houſes and cellars.

I remember alſo, that this Ambuſcade went out from the port of New-York to fight the Boſton, (an Engliſh frigate of two-thirds her force) and that ſhe was very glad to ſheer off and return with lolling ears, which, however, ſhe would not have been ſuffered to do, if mere accident had not prevented the Boſton from following her. Had I time to turn to the papers of that day, what a pathetic deſcription I could give of republican fraternity! How could

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I paint the anxiety of the ſovereign people when the Ambuſcade went out, the coming and going of their colour when an entering ſail appeared in ſight! How could I deſcribe their joy when they heard ſhe was beating up with her prize, and their chagrin when they ſaw her towed up alone! How could I extol the brotherly condolence of the citizens, and how could I dwell on the melting tenderneſs of the "citeſſes," who ſent whole garments of their dear linen for the uſe of the wounded ſansculottes!—But, this is a ſubject that I have ſet my heart upon, and hope I ſhall, one day or other, find time to do it juſtice.

Collot d'Herbois.—That atrocious miſcreant *Collot d'Herbois* was once *hiſſed from the ſtage*; and it is not amongſt the leaſt of republican curſes, that ſuch a wretch ſhould riſe to power. Precious revolution! that could elevate a caſt-off *diverting vagabond* to be, in a great meaſure, the *arbiter of life and death!* The *pardoner* of *murderers*, and the *perſecutor of the innocent!*.

Many perſons aſk me:—who is meant by this name? My anſwer is, that it means a moſt infernal ſcoundrel, who commenced his career on *the ſtage*, and who, if juſtice takes place, will certainly end it *on the gallows*. But I hardly think it poſſible, that any of my readers can be ignorant of the character of this wretch. His deeds, are they not recorded in the books, and pamphlets, and papers of Porcupine? Are they not written in divers tongues? Have they not been the ſubject of French as well as of American abhorrence? Do not all the world agree, that he is "a miſcreant whoſe *friendſhip is infamy*, and whoſe *touch is poiſon?*"

Why, then, is it neceſſary to aſk, *who* is meant by *Collot d'Herbois?* Under any other but the free and equal government of Pennſylvania, ſatiriſts might think

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think it neceſſary to have recourſe to *feigned names*, for the purpoſe of laſhing a villain in power; but *here* ſuch arts can never be neceſſary. *Fables* were firſt made uſe of by *ſlaves*, who, not daring to name the tyrant, the public robber, or the traitor, belaboured him through the hide of the Tyger, the Wolf, or the Fox: but it is an outrageous ſlander on the free State of Pennſylvania, to ſuppoſe that within her confines the miſerable precaution of *ſlaves* is neceſſary in the promulgation of *truth* *.

From Snowden's N. Y. Gazette.

" We are informed that the price for which " *Collot d'Herbois* went into court, and atteſted his " own mother's infidelity, was about double in " amount to the number of pieces received by Judas " for betraying our Saviour."

Dallas.—This man is *Secretary of the State of Pennſylvania*; he is beſides a practiſing attorney; he was one of thoſe *who* (ſoon after the arrival of Genet) *founded the Democratic* (or Jacobin) *Society in this city*. Theſe preliminary obſervations are neceſſary, becauſe without them people in other countries will not be able fully to comprehend the meaning of the following valuable extracts.

Extracts from Diſpatches written by FAUCHET, *the French Miniſter, intercepted by the Britiſh, and communicated to the American Government.—They were dated Philadelphia*, in October, 1794.

From Diſpatch, No. 6.

' Scarce was the commotion [the Weſtern inſur-
' rection] known, when the Secretary of State [Ran-

* The name of COLLOT D'HERBOIS was applied to a moſt infamous villain who lived in Pennſylvania, and who grew rich on French bribery.

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'dolph] came to my houſe. All his countenance 'was grief. He requeſted of me a private conver- 'ſation. It is all over, ſaid he to me. A civil war 'is about to ravage our unhappy country. *Four* 'men, by their talents, their influence, and their 'energy may ſave it.' But debtors of Engliſh mer- 'chants, they will be deprived of their liberty, if 'they take the ſmalleſt ſtep. *Could you lend them* 'inſtantaneouſly funds ſufficient to ſhelter them from 'Engliſh perſecution?* This enquiry aſtoniſhed me 'much. It was impoſſible for me to make a ſatis- 'factory anſwer. You know my *want of power*, and 'my *defect of pecuniary means*. I ſhall draw myſelf 'from the affair by ſome common-place remarks, 'and by throwing myſelf on the pure and unalter- 'able principles of the Republic.'

From Diſpatch, No. 10.

'In the mean time, although there was a cer- 'tainty of having an army, yet it was neceſſary to 'aſſure themſelves of co-operators among the men 'whoſe patriotic reputation might influence their 'party, and whoſe luke warmneſs or want of energy 'in the exiſting conjectures might endanger the 'ſucceſs of the plans. Of all the Governors, whoſe 'duty it was to appear at the head of the requiſi- 'tions, *the Governor of Pennſylvania* alone enjoyed the 'name of Republican: his opinion of the Secretary 'of the Treaſury and of his ſyſtems was known to 'be unfavorable. The *Secretary of this State* poſ- 'ſeſſed great influence in the *Popular Society of Phi- 'ladelphia*, which in its turn influenced thoſe of 'other ſtates; of courſe *he merited attention*. It ap- 'pears, therefore, that *theſe men*, with others un- 'known to me, all having without doubt Randolph 'at their head, *were balancing to decide on their party*. 'Two or three days before the proclamation was 'publiſhed, and of courſe before the cabinet had reſolved

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'resolved on its measures, Mr. Randolph came to 'see me with an air of great eagerness, *and made 'to me the overtures of which I have given you an 'account in my No.* 6. Thus with *some thousands 'of dollars the Republic could have decided on civil war 'or on peace!* Thus the *consciences of the pretended 'patriots of America have already their prices!* It is 'very true that the certainty of these conclusions, 'painful to be drawn, will for ever exist in our ar-'chives! What will be the old age of this Go-'vernment, if it is thus early decrepid?

'As soon as it was decided that the French Re-'public *purchased no men to do their duty*, there were 'to be seen individuals, about whose conduct the 'Government could at least form uneasy conjectures, 'giving themselves up with a *scandalous ostentation 'to its views, and even seconding its declarations.* The '*popular societies soon emitted resolutions stamped with the 'same spirit*, and who, although they may have been 'advised by love of order, might nevertheless have 'omitted or uttered them with less solemnity. 'Then were seen coming from the very men whom 'we had been accustomed to regard as having little 'friendship for the system of the Treasurer, har-'rangues without end, in order to give a new direc-'tion to the public mind. The militia, however, 'manifest some repugnance, particularly in Penn-'sylvania, for the service to which they were called. 'Several officers resign; at last by excursions or 'harrangues, incomplete requisitions are obtained, 'and scattered volunteer corps from different parts 'make up the deficiency. How much more inte-'resting than the *changeable men whom I have 'painted above*, were those plain citizens who an-'swered the solicitations which were made to them 'to join the volunteers, &c. &c.'

N. B. I intend to render this DALLAS as famous as he deserves to be. In a word, I am resolved to be

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be his biographer; and, as Mr. Boſwell has taught us, that the moſt trifling occurrence in the life of a great man ought not to be omitted, I requeſt all thoſe who wiſh to ſee my work complete, to furniſh me with *liſts of thoſe families who are honoured with the viſits of my hero, and who viſit my Hero in return.* Information of this ſort is always expected from the pen of a biogropher; becauſe, in judging of the characters of men, the old adage, "*birds of a feather will flock together,*" ought never to be loſt ſight of. This ſpecies of information would, in the preſent work, be valuable on another account. The anecdotes, which it would neceſſarily introduce, would ſerve to enliven the narrative, which, from the *uniformity* of my Hero's character, would otherwiſe grow dull and fatiguing. Beſides, were there no other conſideration, it would be an act of *injuſtice* to ſuffer thoſe whoſe conduct has (though indirectly) *tended to countenance ſuch a man,* to ſink quietly into oblivion. Every ſtar cannot, indeed, ſhine like our DALLAS; but, of all thoſe that ever have twinkled in her vortex, from the biggeſt to the leaſt, *let not one be forgotten.*

Dr. Stock.—*Dr. Stock,* a *patriotic emigrant,* and, I believe, a quondam member of the *Correſponding Society,* honoured the Philadelphia Theatre with ſomething he calls a play, entitled the "*Wedding in Wales,*" and which it is ſaid he compoſed in partnerſhip with *Dallas.*—If it be worthy of any name at all, it is a ſort of *tragi-comedy,* a ſpecies of drama to which the moſt celebrated critics have objected, on account of the unnatural mixture of *mirth* and *ſorrow* which it produces; but the piece before us candour obliges me to declare entirely free from this defect, for it produces *neither the one nor the other.* The characters are ſuch very grave gentry, that *they ſcorn to move your riſible faculties;* while the ſentiments

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ments they expreſs naturally lead you to expect, and even to *hope*, that the plot will wind up with a general hanging match, in place of a wedding.

The Theatre.—Amongſt all the various crimes that ill-diſpoſed and malicious perſons have laid to my charge, want of *candour* was never thought of. My bittereſt enemies will allow me to poſſeſs this virtue (ſo neceſſary in a newſmonger), and they will alſo allow, I hope, that I never have been backward in the practice of it.

The Theatre it has been my duty to attack very often during the preſent ſeaſon; becauſe it has, for the moſt part, been a ſchool for *vice*. The pieces brought forward have generally been of the loweſt and moſt vicious character; their tendency has conſequently been to degrade and corrupt the audience. Happy am I to perceive the dawn of a *revolution!* (to ſpeak in the cant of the day) and happy am I to be the firſt to proclaim the glad tidings!—Mr. WIGNELL has at laſt laudably reſolved to treat the town with

"A NEW WAY OF PAYING OLD DEBTS,"

preceded by the following *new* and moſt excellent *Prologue*, which, though I believe it to be written by Mr. Wignell's pot-companion *Dallas*, will certainly give univerſal ſatisfaction.

From the Toad-eater's Gazette.

The Creditors of the ſubſcribers are requeſted to take notice, that they have applied to the Honorable the Judges of the Supreme Court of Pennſylvania, for the benefit of the act of the General Aſſembly of the ſaid State, entituled "An Act providing that the perſon of a debtor ſhall not be liable to impriſonment for debt after delivering up his eſtate for the benefit of his creditors, unleſs he hath been guilty of fraud or embezzlement," and their Honors

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Honors have appointed Friday, the 29th of March inſt. to hear them and their creditors at ſuch place where the Supreme Court ſhall be there held; where you are required to attend and ſhow cauſe, if any you have, why the benefit of the ſaid act ſhould not be extended to

Thomas Wignel.
A. Reinagle.

"VIVAT RESPUBLICA*."

March 21.

From the Maſſachuſetts Mercury.

While the French Government cannot raiſe money but by coercive extortion, although they promiſe good ſecurity with intereſt—our Government is *voluntarily* offered *treble* the ſum deſired for extra expences, although they give an intereſt that bears but a ſmall proportion to the general profits of buſineſs, and the pledge of their faith. Talk no more of the ſuperior popularity of the Gallia Government, ye Frenchified gentry!

This would be all very well, if we were in that ſtate of happy ignorance in which the Indians live. I like to ſee a man make the moſt of his country and its Government; and moſt aſſuredly every American muſt be proud to perceive, that there is all the difference in the world between his Government and that of Sans-culotte France. But, in our endeavors to exalt our country, we ought to chooſe proper ſubjects of eulogium and exultation. The well-meant efforts of a man who wants this talent of diſcernment, will very often do harm inſtead of good, will excite ridicule inſtead of admiration.

What does the ſagacious Mr. Minn's mean by the Government's being "*voluntarily* offered *treble*

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* Theſe words the baſe creatures always put at the bottom of their play-bills.

"the

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"the ſum deſired for extra expences?" Does he allude to the loan?—If ſo, I, *Peter Porcupine*, come in for my ſhare of his praiſe, for I made a "*voluntary offer*" of part of this treble ſum. And how great muſt be the *patriotiſm* of a certain gentleman, who made a "*voluntary offer*" of *the whole ſum that was wanted*, particularly when we recollect that he is an *Engliſhman!* This is patriotiſm paſſing knowledge!

The truth is, that the only fair indication of a confidence in, and a reſpect for, Government, is a cheerful payment of *taxes*. It is to little purpoſe that a Government makes loans and fills them up with rapidity, if the people refuſe, or grudge, to pay either principal or intereſt. I am aſtoniſhed to ſee ſo little indignation expreſſed at the conduct of the NO-TAX inſurgents in Pennſylvania. The friends of Government, if it has any *real* friends left, ſeem aſleep. They little dream of the *conſequences* of this oppoſition to the laws. They do not perceive the effect it is calculated to produce, or they certainly would beſtir themſelves. Not a pen; amongſt ſo many political writers, not a pen is put in motion to rouſe the well-affected againſt theſe daring villains. Are men weak enough to believe, that the Government can long live under the annual viſitation of an unpuniſhed revolt? If they are, it is a proof of the mental debility of the community. Seldom does the tornado come on *all at once:* diſtant rumblings, partial guſts, are generally its precurſors.

It is an alarming circumſtance that the militia of a diſtrict (where *every* one is a militia-man) is not ſufficient to quell *the diſorders of that diſtrict*. When this fatal truth ſtands ſo fully acknowledged, what a ſhame is it to hear men make light of the inſurrection! Yet this is what we hear every hour. People may, if they pleaſe, call me an *alarmiſt*; but I repeat

peat it again and again, that *courage* does not consist in *not daring to talk of danger*. There is in these States a faction, a numerous and desperate faction, resolved on the overthrow of the Federal Government; and the man who will not allow that there is *danger* to be apprehended, is either too great a fool to perceive it, or too great a coward to encounter it.

John Poor.—Is not this the *Schoolmaster* who kept the young ladies' *academy*, and whose *academy* has long been a rendezvous for the *Democratic Society* and the *United Irishmen?*

For teaching young ladies methinks the man is somewhat unqualified; for, if he be the writer of his own *defence*, he is certainly ignorant of the first and most simple rules of grammar. When, upon my first arrival in this city, I used to hear about the "young ladies' academy," and used to read poor little Swanwick's speeches, and the lists of those "young ladies" to whom "diplomas" were granted, I laughed it is true; I look upon the whole as contemptible pomposity; but I really did not imagine that the *provost* of the *academy* was such an illiterate bog-trotter as *John Poor.*

Notice to Creditors.—William S. Thom, late shopkeeper of this city, having assigned to us the subscribers all the goods belonging to him secreted in the cellar of JOHN POOR, schoolmaster, Cherry-street, on the night of the 28th ultimo, and there attached, as well as all his other effects, real, personal, and mixt, for the benefit of such of his creditors only as shall on or before the first day of April next ensuing sign a discharge now in our possession; therefore such of them who wish to avail themselves of a dividend then to be made, are requested to bring in their accounts properly attested, otherwise they

they will be excluded therefrom; and all perſons indebted to the ſaid William S. Thom are hereby deſired to make immediate payment to either of us, being the only perſons authoriſed to receive the ſame.

OTHNIEL ALSOP.
JOSHUA LIPPENCOTT.

March 20.

Mr. John Poor's name being mentioned in the above notice, I would inform the public that he had no intereſt or concern whatever in the property belonging to me ſtored in his cellar, nor were ſaid goods ſecreted as above ſtated.

WILLIAM S. THOM.

March 23.

William S. Thom informs the public, that *John Poor* had no intereſt nor concern in the goods which were *depoſited* in his cellar. Whatever ſuſpicions we might entertain on the ſubject, it would be hard to prove his having an intereſt in the property; it is however an unfortunate circumſtance for that gentleman, that in the ſame advertiſement *William S. Thom* likewiſe aſſerts that thoſe goods were not *ſecreted.* In order that a true judgment may be formed of the credit due to this ſalvo we will aſk, *Why* were the goods packed up after dark, with the window over the door darkened by a blanket hung up behind it? Why was a porter called up out of his bed? And why was the candle extinguiſhed when they were taken away, and his *poor* little boy left (as he ſaid) in the dark till the whole (three loads) were carried off? Two of theſe loads were hauled to *John Poor*'s cellar, and received by himſelf at near eleven o'clock at night. Several days elapſed before the porter employed in the buſineſs was diſcovered: on taking him and a ſheriff's officer

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cer to this *Scoolmaſter's*, he at firſt denied having any ſuch goods in his poſſeſſion, but on being informed that he por ter was ready to atteſt that he delivered them to him, he confeſſed there were ſome goods in his cellar, but would not confeſs that he knew where they came from, whoſe they were, or any thing about them. Indeed, ſo great was his caution, that he abſolutely *refuſed to take a receipt from the ſheriff's officer when he took them away.* We ſhall juſt add, that that *Schoolmaſter* was the firſt perſon ſuſpected by us to have the goods in his poſſeſſion, as we can fully prove.

JOSHUA LIPPENCOTT.
OTHNIEL ALSOP.

March 25.

Willet and O'Connor.—Mr. Fenno's *picture of the American News-Printers* has wrought miracles; it has, in many inſtances, produced ſomething *like life* in wretches, who have never before diſcovered the leaſt ſymptoms of animation. It has even rouſed thoſe two kneaded clods *Willet* and *O'Connor*, the Editors of the *Norfolk Herald*, who, in poring over Fenno's *group*, have at laſt caſt their eyes into an obſcure corner, and ſpied out their own mongrel-looking viſages. This unfortunate diſcovery has made the poor caitiff's angry; but how could Mr. Fenno help it? If, in looking over the Harlot's Progreſs, a woman happens to ſee her own dear likeneſs, ſhall ſhe be allowed to ſcratch poor Hogarth out of his grave?—When I had the honor to ſerve his Majeſty, I was, with ſeven of my comrades, quartered upon a moſt bitter vixen of a landlady. One evening, when we had inveſted her fire-ſide pretty cloſely, ſhe began to abuſe us in a way that put me in mind of Fielding's *Mrs. Tow-wouſe*, to whom ſhe bore no weak reſemblance. As it happened I had an old torn copy of *Joſeph Andrews*, which

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which I fetched down ſtairs. I began with a loud voice to read the deſcription of the termagant in the romance; but, before I had half done, the landlady flew acroſs the half-moon that we had formed round her fire, and fixing one claw in my hair and the other in the book, began to pull and tear like a fury, ſwearing all the while that ſhe would have me flogged for a *libel*. With ſome difficulty I diſentangled myſelf from her clutches, and endeavoured to ſmooth her down, by convincing her that it was a printed book I was reading; a book too that was made, probably, before ſhe was born, and of courſe, that it could not be *her* that I was reading about. "You lie, you young dog," ſays ſhe, "it was *about* "*me*, it was *about me*, and about nobody elſe." And ſhe abſolutely went and complained of me to the commanding officer, telling him, that I ſat in her preſence reading a naſty lying book, that abuſed her and all the genteel women in the pariſh.—The Colonel ſent for me, and having obtained an explanation of the buſineſs, gave me a piece of advice, which I take the liberty to recommend to the ſerious conſideration of Mr. Fenno.—"Very well, "Cobbett," ſays he, "I am glad to find you are in "no fault; but you are a young ſoldier, Cobbett, "and, if you like feather beds better than ſtraw, "and ſtrong beer better than ſmall, and if you "would rather have a ſmack from a landlady's lips "than from her fiſt, let me adviſe you always to "examine her features well before you read to her "the deſcription of *Mrs. Tow-wouſe*."

Morality Lottery!—This country, though "young," and in great part uncultivated, has been very fruitful in many things, and in none more than in *Lotteries*. There is hardly a purpoſe, requiring a conſiderable ſum of *money*, for which a *Lottery* has not been ſet on foot; but, it was reſerved for the *laſt*

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year of the *enlightened eighteenth cemtury* to ſee the great *Saint of Beula* ariſe, and publiſh the ſcheme of a Lottery, ſet on foot from "MOTIVES OF PURE MORALITY!!!"

Libelling.—I was told this morning, that I was about to be proſecuted for a falſe, ſcandalous, and malicious libel on *the Theatre.* I wonder whether it will be at the ſuit of the *actors* or of the *dramatis perſonæ?* If the latter ſhould be the plaintiffs, I ſhall certainly inſiſt on a dramatical trial. An action at the ſuit of the *Mock-Doctor*, tried before *Old Angelo*, and conducted by *Lawyer Scut*, would, I think, be a farce ſuperior to any that has hitherto been acted on the boards of Mr. Wignell. There is one comfort, and that is, if the *dramatis perſonæ* ſhould proſecute, they cannot, I preſume, ſtyle themſelves "*private* characters," and, therefore, the old hackneyed complaint againſt me will, on this occaſion, have no weight.

King George.—Mr. Fenno, in the Aurora of this morning it is aſſerted, that a member of the Board of Overſeers of the Poor, on Monday laſt, gave, as a toaſt, "the King of Great Britain, the only friend to order and good government,"—this is falſe. The toaſt was, "The King of Great Britain, the only ſupporter of order and good government in Europe"—for the correctneſs of which, an appeal is made to every gentleman then preſent. The inſignificant wretch who could abuſe the hoſpitality of the overſeers, by giving to the editors ſuch a miſtatement, is beneath their notice, and will receive that contempt which he deſerves.

One of the Overſeers.

It appears by this, that ſome ſnake in the graſs has been babbling to the he and ſhe ſans-culotte,

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who, between them, conduct the Aurora.—It is pity, that this tell-tale fellow cannot have an opportunity of hearing me, and my family and friends. I always drink "*the King*" in preference to every human being. Drinking his health gives to my ſmall beer the taſte of Burgundy.

But, "*the King*" is a toaſt become very faſhionable. *Judge M'Kean's ſon, Joſeph*, gave him as a toaſt but a very little while ago. I mention this in *commendation* of M'Kean. 'Till I heard of it, I never liked him; and I do not like him very well now.

It is aſtoniſhing, that there ſhould be a ſcoundrel impudent enough to attack a man publicly for giving "the King of Great Britain" as a toaſt, while we daily and hourly ſee "the French Republic" publiſhed as a toaſt, and at a time too when this monſter is in the commiſſion of the moſt abominable acts of injuſtice and perfidy towards America, and when the King of Great Britain is rendering her every ſervice in his mighty power. But, this is the age of perverſeneſs, of baſeneſs, and of the moſt helliſh ingratitude.

EPITAPH ON MERRY,

THE DELLA CRUSSCAN POET.

Recommended to the ſerious Attention of his Elegiac Admirers.

HIS froward muſe at variance with his name,
Poor Merry ſighs for praiſe, and whines for fame.
Merry is gone—no *Merry-maker* he,
For he is dead without poſterity!
His *tragic* wife alone he *Merry* made,
She's *Merry* ſtill in honour to his ſhade;
But when her time's expired for looking ſad,
Quite tired of being *Merry*, ſhe'll be glad;
Give birth to native tranſports and repent
Paſt ſcenes of unprolific *Merriment*;
Or holding cheap poetic gewgaw fame,
To taſte *ſubſtantial* mirth forego the *name*.

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Weep o'er theſe rhymes, for if you dare to laugh,
He'll riſe and tear the quibbling Epitaph:
Stay 'till his ſhade has fairly croſſed the *Ferry*,
Then damn his "*Pains of Memory*" and be Merry.

DELLA YANKEE.

FROM THE SHOP OF MESSRS. COLON AND SPENDEE,

Addreſſed to DELLA CRUSCA, *humbly attempted in the ſublime ſtyle of that faſhionable Author.*

O THOU,
Who, with thy blue cerulean blaze,
Haſt circled Europe's brow with LOVELORN praiſe,
Whoſe magic pen its gelid lightning throws,
Is now a ſunbeam, now a fragant roſe.
Child of the dappl'd ſpring, whoſe green delight
Drinks, with her ſnow drop lips, the dewy light.
Son of the ſummer's bland prolific rays,
Who ſheds her loftieſt treaſure in thy lays;
Who ſwells her golden lips to trump thy name,
Which ſinks to whiſpers, at thy azure fame.
Brown autumn nurs'd thee with her dulcet dews,
And lurid winter rock'd thy *cradled muſe*.
SEASONS AND SUNS, AND SPANGL'D SYSTEMS ROLL,
Like atoms vaſt, beneath thy "*cloud capt*" ſoul.
Time wings its panting flight in hurried chaſe,
But SINKS in dew dropt languor in th' IMMORTAL RACE.

O THOU,
Whoſe ſoul the nooky Briton ſcorns;
Whoſe white clifts tremble, when thy GENIUS ſtorms;
The ſallow Afric, with her curl'd domains,
And purpled Aſia with her muſlin plains,
And ſurgy Europe—VAIN—thy ſoul confind,
Which fills *all ſpace*—AND E'EN MATILDA'S MIND;
Anna's capacious mind, which all agree,
Contain'd a wilderneſs of woods in thee.
More happy thou than Macedonia's Lord,
Who wept for worlds to feed his famiſh'd ſword.
Fatigu'd by attic conqueſt of the old,
Fortune to thee a NOVEL WORLD unfolds;
Come, mighty Conqueror, thy foes diſperſe;
Let looſe "thy epithets," THOSE DOGS OF VERSE;

Draw

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Draw forth thy gorgeous ſword of damaſk'd rhyme,
And ride triumphant through Columbia's clime,
Till ſober letter'd ſenſe ſhall dying ſmile,
Before the mighty magic of thy ſtyle.
What tawny tribes in duſky foreſt wait,
To grace the ovation of thy victor ſtate.
What ochred chiefs, vermillion'd by the ſword,
Mark'd by thy epithets, ſhall own thee lord!
The punic Creek, and nigrified Choctaw,
The high-bon'd Wabaſh, and bland Hanging Maw;
Great Little Billy, Piamingo brave,
With pity's dew drops, wet M'Gilvray's grave.
What ſonorous ſtreams meander through thy lays,
What lakes ſhall bleſs thy rich bequeſt of praiſe.
Rough Hockhocking, and gentle Chicago,
The two Miami's—placid Scieto.
How will Ohio roll his lordly ſtream,
What blue miſts dance upon the liquid ſcene,
Gods! how ſublime ſhall Della Cruſca rage,
When ALL NIAGARA CATARACTS THY PAGE!
What arts! what arms unknown, to thee belong!
What ruddy ſcalps ſhall deck thy ſanguin'd ſong!
What fumy cal'mets ſcent the ambient air,
What lovelorn Warhoops, CAPITALS declare.
Cerulean tomahawks ſhall grace each line,
And BLUE EY'D WAMPUM gliſten thro' thy rhyme.
Riſe, Della Cruſca, prince of bards ſublime,
And pour on us whole cataracts of rhyme.
SON OF THE SUN, ariſe, whoſe brighteſt rays,
All merge to tapers in thy ignate blaze,
Like ſome Coloſſus, ſtride the Atlantic o'er,
A LEG OF GENIUS place on either ſhore,
Extend thy red right arm to either world,
Be the proud ſtandard of thy ſtyle unfurl'd;
Proclaim thy ſounding page, from ſhore to ſhore,
And ſwear that ſenſe in verſe, ſhall be no more.

DELLA YANKEE.

GILES.—*From the Virginia Gazette.*

MR. DAVIS,

It is with reluctance that I appear in a newſpaper. Obſerving in your's of the 8th inſt. a publication of William B. Giles, Eſq. in anſwer to one of

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of Major Nelſon's, of 24th January, I am compelled to publiſh the following facts, reſpecting a converſation which paſſed at my houſe, and which has been the cauſe of theſe publications. *After much had been ſaid reſpecting the reports of the ſecretaries of the treaſury, war, and navy, and condemned by Mr. Giles, as he acknowledges; Mr. Giles, riſing to leave the company, ſaid (without any reſerve) I am clearly for a ſeparation, and hope it will take place. A gentleman preſent, getting up to go away alſo, ſaid, I am d—— glad, old fellow, to hear you ſay ſo, it has been my wiſh theſe three or four years paſt. Mr. Giles replied, it is a late opinion of mine, and I hope it will take place. A third gentleman in company (whoſe political opinions generally coincide with the before-mentioned) declared he differed from them, that he did not wiſh a ſeparation: This gentleman had made the ſame declaration in the early part of the converſation, and mentioned having received a letter from a friend of his, (a member of Congreſs) in anſwer to one he had written to him (and expreſſed a wiſh he had brought it with him to Richmond), wherein was the opinion on this ſubject, of a perſon who is held in the higheſt eſtimation by thoſe who have generally diſapproved of the acts and meaſures of the legiſlative and executive of the federal government, wherein he ſays, he by no means approves of a ſeparation; that it cannot be long before there will be a majority in Congreſs, who will think with him, that the increaſing population of the ſouthern ſtates muſt produce this effect.*—I have been thus particular in ſtating the above converſation, ſuppoſing it may bring to the recollection of the gentlemen, who were preſent, the preciſe words that paſſed on this occaſion, I declare moſt ſolemnly, I believe, what I here ſtated, to be the very words made uſe of at the aforeſaid time, and by the aforeſaid perſons—this I am ſure of, that it was the expreſs meaning of what did paſs; and I truſt thoſe to whom I have the pleaſure of being known, will credit this aſſertion.

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tion. I think Mr. Giles perfectly correct in saying there is no person who can believe he would enter into a confidential and treasonable conversation with me. I thought it neither one or the other, and therefore supposed there could be nothing improper in it; on the contrary, I believed, from the manner of his expressing himself at the time, he would certainly have supported this opinion, and particularly since those obnoxious measures (as he thinks them), and which were the cause of the conversation, have substantially been adopted.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient humble servant,
LEWIS BURWELL.

Richmond, March 16, 1799.

The reader will do well to observe the point on which the Virginia politics turn.—*Virginia will have either a* MAJORITY *in* CONGRESS, *or a* SEPARATION *of the* STATES! And, one or the other, I am afraid, she will have, 'ere two years are at an end. I do not love gloomy prospects better than other men; but, to shut ones eyes against the light is folly. The danger to be averted, must be first perceived and acknowledged.

It is very certain too, that the New-Englanders want to get rid of the Southern States. Their interests are as opposite as are the manners of their inhabitants. With this inclination, mutually repulsive, they can be held together by nothing but the *Federal* influence of the *middle states*, and more particularly that of Pensylvania. If, therefore, this influence should decline, in any considerable degree, a separation must inevitably take place, and happy will it be, if it should come unaccompanied by a civil war, long, desolating, and bloody.

APRIL,

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APRIL, 1799.

Bon Ton.—It is said, that a young lady, of the *bon ton* of this city, last night eloped with one of those ci-devant noblemen of France, who have for some years past honored Philadelphia by their residence in it.—The fond couple were, it is said, discovered this morning at the house of a *milliner* (convenient trade!); and, considering the confusion generally attendant on all such sudden expeditions to the *Island Cytherea*, it is with peculiar pleasure I hear it reported, that the parties did not forget to call at the *temple of Hymen* in their way*.

" *The*

* The hero and heroine of this article, were the ci-devant *Count de Tilley*, and Miss *Anne Louisa Bingham*, daughter of WILLIAM BINGHAM, who, though a revolutionary republican, calls himself an Esquire. This man is said not to be so rich as he was once thought to be; but, if he has less money than he has wit, he must be poor indeed. He is descended (or rather risen) from very mean parents; but, having amassed together a good deal of money during, and at the close of, the rebellion, by paper-money, and other speculations, he wished to be a *great man*; and, in the height of his folly, resolved to take his wife (who was, till then, a plain Philadelphia girl) to Paris, in order to fit her for *high life*. He *succeeded to a miracle!!!*—His house in Philadelphia (one apartment of which may be very properly called the temple of *Priapus*) has long been the rendezvous of the ci-devant French nobleſſe, who have taken shelter in America. Noailles has been an *inmate* for several years; he introduced *Tilly*, and Tilly introduced Miss Anne Louisa to *Dr. Jones*, (an universalist preacher) who coupled the lovers together, as above recorded.—The day after the marriage took place, Bingham contrived to get his daughter from the Count, and to send her away into New Jersey. The Count went to the father's house, and endeavoured to enter it; but was repulsed by the joint efforts of Bingham, Noailles, Richard Willing, and Charles Baring, (son of Sir Francis Baring, of London, which son had married another of the daughters,) all of whom made shift to beat him off. Tilly, in the height of his passion, sent one of his opponents a challenge; but the challenged party sent a constable to seize him for a breach of the law. He was put in jail, and, notwithstanding the constitution, which says that *excessive bail* shall *not* be demanded, the judge refused to let him out, unless he could find bail for *six thousand dollars!* But, he having consented to leave the country, and his wife

of

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"*The Little Farthing Rushlight*" is, it seems, to be exhibited to-night at Ricketts's — but, I can see no sort of reason for giving a dollar to attend at the formal exhibition of *a mean, despicable, and despised thing*, which any one may *purchase for a farthing*, and *see for nothing**.

Mercenaries.—I had lately an occasion to address a few words, on this subject, to the *mercenary* printers at Boston. The passage I am about to quote will serve to elucidate it still further.

During the last session of Congress, *Livingston*, of New York, called the Federal army *mercenary* troops. The epithet gave offence, and brought several severe remarks on the orator. Gallatin defended his brother democrat, and added, that there were *mercenary* LAWYERS as well as *mercenary* troops. Mr. Bayard replied to Gallatin, in the following words:

Mr. BAYARD remarked upon the ingenuity displayed by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, in defence of the epithet used by his friend from New York. He had no doubt that gentleman *well understood* both the word and *the thing*. He spoke of mercenary troops and mercenary lawyers, but there were other mercenaries, whom he had omitted. He might have added *mercenary patriots* and *mercenary politicians*, of whom *we have but too many ex-*

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of course, Bingham let him out of jail, and gave him a sum of money, with which he went to England.—Still the girl was his wife; but matters of this kind are soon settled here. The father asked the Legislature of Pennsylvania to pass a law to *annul the marriage*, which was immediately done, and now Miss ANNE LOUISA is *a maid again!!!!!*

* RUSH, the famous bleeding Doctor, after reading this paragraph, went to the President of the United States, and requested him to send PORCUPINE out of the country, *under the alien and sedition law.*

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amples. He might alſo have ſaid, that there were mercenary politicians *imported from abroad*, as well as mercenary troops—[Mr. Eggleſton roſe, ſo call the gentleman to order; and was proceeding to ſtate the impropriety of *perſonal reflections*, but there was a general cry of order—that a member was on the floor. The SPEAKER deſired Mr. B. to proceed.]—Mr. B. believed he was not more out of order than the gentleman from Pennſylvania; but *what fell from him might make a different impreſſion upon the gentlemen from Virginia*. He was ſaying, that amongſt other mercenaries there might be mercenary politicians. He did not know why he ſhould be underſtood as having *particular reference to perſons in that houſe*. Did the gentleman from Virginia mean to alledge that any perſons were deſcribed by what he ſaid. He ſhould be glad if the gentleman *would point them out*. When the gentleman from Pennſylvania ſpoke of mercenary lawyers, he ſuppoſed he did not allude to any honorable gentleman on that floor of that profeſſion. He believed further with reſpect to mercenary politicians, that there were ſome *who were doubly mercenary*; they received pay from their own government, and *actually ſerving a foreign government, whilſt they are receiving the pay of their own*.

Anthony Paſquin.—TONY PASQUIN, the "Fede-"ral Champion of New York," has made ſhift to ſqueeze out his ſecond number; but he flatly aſſerts, that he can go no further without *ſix month's pay in advance*. TONY will find this a very great ſtumbling block, for though there may be perſons here as well as in London, who would *hire* him to varniſh over, there are very few who will *pay* him for it.

This Paſquin is a moſt deſpicable miſcreant, yet, it muſt be confeſſed, he poſſeſſes *candour* in a very eminent

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eminent degree, as a proof of which I quote from his doggerel the following candid account of *himſelf*.

Character of Anthony Paſquin; written by himſelf.

" What's Anthony?—a *naſty* thing;
" A non-deſcript *without a ſting*;
" A pipe unfill'd with Joy's mundungus,
" A mule—a manakin—a fungus;
" A ſterile rock or ſeedleſs graſs,
" A ruſty key, a nought—an ASS."

Beautiful climax!—This was the public confeſſion the fellow made ſeveral years ago in London, and he has now republiſhed it, it ſeems, as a ſort of letter of credence to the *patronage* of the ſmall Federaliſts of New York.—Apropos—To demand *pay in advance* is not, Anthony, agreeable to your old practice. You acted a more *generous* part towards *Haſtings*. Is it poſſible that you place leſs confidence in *your* Federaliſts, whom you declare to be the moſt uncorrupt of mankind, than you did in ſuch a man as *Haſtings?*

Judges.—The governments of America are often compared to that of Great Britain, and, at firſt ſight, becauſe they are alike in form, they appear to be ſo in ſubſtance. Upon nearer acquaintance, however, with theſe governments, we find, that they reſemble that of Great Britain in *form only*. In ſubſtance, that is, in their operation and effects, they are widely different. This difference is ſeen every where, but no where is it ſo ſtriking as in what relates to Judges. In England, a Judge is a Judge for life, unleſs he commit ſome crime ſufficient to diſplace him upon an impeachment. So they tell you it is here; but, obſerve well, that here a Judge may be a member of Congreſs, an Elector for Preſident, and *ſtill continue to be a Judge*; nay, he can hold his Judgeſhip in tow while he ſets

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ſets himſelf up as a candidate for *Preſident of the Union*, or *Governor of a State*. While a man is canvaſſing for his election, methinks he is not very fit to ſit upon the bench. I allude to no particular caſe, for we have ſeen frequent inſtances of what I here notice. Judges moſt certainly ought to be *perfectly independent*, not only of their ſuperiors, but of their inferiors alſo, and they cannot be ſo, while it is in the power of either to add to, or diminiſh, their incomes or their honors.

The Boſton Slaves—*Ben. Ruſſell* and *Minns*, are grown quite mild and tame. A laſhing, now and then, does them good. Only obſerve the effects of this horſe-play on *M'Lang*, at New York. The fellow is as dull as ever, to be ſure, but he is ſilent. A *babbling* fool is always impertinent. This *M'Lang* had ſtretched forth his arms to fraternize with Anthony Paſquin; but one ſtroke from my heavy hunting whip made him draw them in again. He quoted part of Tony's introductory addreſs, and *he has promiſed to publiſh the whole of it*. Now, I *order* him not to do it, and if he dare to diſobey me, I will laſh him till I have loſt him.

Paſquin and Carey.—*Anthony Paſquin* has made, *what he calls*, an *attack* upon me. I will, one of theſe days re-publiſh his traſh; indeed I may ſay I will *publiſh* it, for its appearance in his paper cannot properly be called *publication*. Tony is a *dull devil*. A wretch ſtill more vapid than *Matthew Carey*, whoſe "*plumb pudding*" has ſettled ſo heavy upon his ſtomach as to produce a very dangerous indigeſtion. It would be curious if the *poor* fellow ſhould fall a ſacrifice to his own cookery. It is a maxim in my good old country, that, as ſoon as a girl can make a plumb-pudding, and tie it neatly up in the bag, without any aſſiſtance, ſhe is fit to

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be married If poor Matthew's qualifications are to undergo such a test as this, in a literary sense, I fear it will be very long 'ere he will be admitted into the bands of matrimony with any one of the muses.

Judges.—There is something singularly favourable to *civil liberty* and *free elections* in the eligibility of Judges to other offices, *before they cease to be Judges;* for, a man cannot distinguish his friends from his opponents, while he is on the bench, *any better* than if he were not there; and, on the other hand, his office of judge enables him to prevent, in a great measure, all improper or unpleasant publications, either against the other candidate or—*himself.* I say, therefore, that the *office of Judge*, and the quality of *Candidate for that of Governor,* are united in the same person with singular propriety. Be it remembered, moreover, that if a Judge fail in his election, he is *still a Judge;* and every one must perceive, that a hard political struggle furnishes an excellent opportunity for a Judge to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the *faults* and the *virtues* of all and every of the *citizens;* a very valuable sort of knowledge, and which, I presume, cannot fail to contribute greatly to the *impartial administration of Justice.*—"VIVAT REPUBLICA!"

Dallas is pretty sure that he shall not be Secretary of State, under any Federal Governor, and for that reason, amongst others, he wishes to thrust in M'Kean. To be sure, he may be disappointed, even if MAC should get in; but he has a chance, and a bad chance is better than none.—"What does he "care," said a fool the other day, "he has *very good* "*practice at the bar.*"—But this fool did not perceive, that he might lose that *good practice* with his office of Secretary of State! The poor fool did not recollect, that it is often very convenient to have ones cause in the hands of a man who has, *ex officio,* the

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the *ear of the Governor.* If I were in danger of being hanged, in England, and the miniſter were alſo a pleading lawyer, I ſhould certainly employ the miniſter, and give him a thumping fee. But this is not the caſe in England; neither Mr. Pitt, nor the Duke of Portland, nor Lord Grenville, is a pleading lawyer: and here we have complete proof of the ſuper-excellence of Republican government, the ſimple manners of which permit its officers to follow their private and public occupations at one and the ſame time, by which means the ſervice of the ſtate is performed for little or nothing. Some perſons may, indeed, ſuggeſt, that this economy may be attended with evil conſequences; for, that a man's private occupation may be made the medium, through which to obtain his influence, in his public capacity; but thoſe who talk thus, do not recollect the maxim of the ſapient Monteſquieu, that "VIRTUE *is the baſis of Republican Government.*"

Tench Coxe keeps harping away upon *Mr. Roſs*, who, he ſays, is *recommended by me.* This is a ſmall miſtake; I never preſumed *to recommend Mr. Roſs:* I know nothing of him; but I ſee him recommended by gentlemen of high reputation, for honeſty, as well as for underſtanding; and I ſee him oppoſed by Leib, Tench Coxe, Dallas, &c. and, *therefore*, I am pretty ſure, he muſt be a worthy gentleman, and a firm friend to his country. I muſt, however, ſay that I have ſomewhat more knowledge of the *other candidate;* I *know* Tench Coxe's man; I *know* M'Kean, and I know that it is my duty, my bounded duty, to my ſubſcribers in this State, to uſe all my feeble efforts to preſerve them from the power of ſuch a man. From private conſiderations, there is no man, who need care leſs about the iſſue of the election than myſelf. It is out of M'Kean's power to hurt me. *I will never live ſix months under his ſovereign ſway.* As ſoon as he is ſafe in his ſaddle,

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dle, I ſhall begin to look out for a horſe. Nor will a migration of this ſort give me a moment's uneaſineſs. It would be a durable ſource of ſatisfaction to me, that I had ſcorned to live amongſt a ſet of beings, who could voluntarily and deliberately chooſe ſuch a man to reign over them. As I ſaid before, I look upon it as my duty to the publick, to aſſiſt in oppoſing M'Kean's election; but, as it may concern myſelf, I view it with the moſt perfect indifference; and, above all things, Coxe ought to avoid accuſing me with acting from motives of *enmity to the people*; for, if I wiſhed them evil, if I deſired to ſee their humiliation, their miſery, their ruin, *I ſhould join with Coxe, inſtead of oppoſing him.*

MAY, 1799.

Ruſh and Michell.—In Bradford's paper of Friday laſt, there is an article, entitled "Errors in the account of the Yellow Fever, by *a London Phyſician, &c.*" This article, from the abſurd notions it contains, as well as from its ambling childiſh ſtyle, I ſet down as the production of *Ruſh*, or one of his "*Young Doctors.*" To ſay that a thing is written by *Ruſh*, is to ſay, that it is unworthy of a *ſerious* reply; yet this article contains one remark, which is ſo impudently *falſe*, that I muſt ſpend a moment or two on it.

He ſays, that peſtilential diſeaſes are kept out of the towns and cities of Europe by *their cleanlineſs, and the wholeſome regulation of their police:* and that, it is an *error* of the London phyſician to ſay, "*that the cities of the United States are kept remarkably clean.*"

Impudence to ſurpaſs this, I never met with. I ſay, that the city of Philadelphia (the favorite ſpot of the Yellow Fever) is not only kept *remarkably clean*; but I aſſert, that, during the ſeven years in which

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which I have lived in and near it, it *has been kept cleaner, in the very dirtieſt ſeaſons, than any town or city I ever ſaw in Europe, in ſeaſons the moſt favourable to cleanlineſs.* Philadelphia is famed for this. Many years ago I uſed to hear our old ſoldiers, who had been at Philadelphia (and who certainly had ſeen more towns and cities than *Ruſh*), extol the city for its ſuperior cleanlineſs. All foreigners, I ever heard ſpeak on the ſubject, agree in the encomium; and I defy *Ruſh*, and all his *pupils* and *partizans*, to name any city, town, borough, village, or hamlet, in the whole world, that is kept cleaner than this city, which he ſtigmatizes as *ſtinking.*

"*Clean your cellars, clean your gutters, clean your* "*docks!*" This is the everlaſting cry; *clean! clean! clean!—waſh! waſh! waſh!—ſcrub! ſcrub! ſcrub!—ſweep! ſweep! ſweep!*—It is a ſort of *perpetual motion.* It is plaguing and burthenſome beyond bearing. We are fatigued and tormented to death with *cleanlineſs*, and have been ever ſince 1793, and yet the Yellow Fever ſtill comes, and that too with increaſing fury. When the fatal malady broke out laſt year, the ſtreets were remarkably clean, even for Philadelphia. You might walk about for an hour, without finding a ſingle ſpot, that was not as clean as the pavement of an Engliſh nobleman's court-yard. It is, therefore, both falſe and inſolent to accuſe the police of neglect, and the inhabitants of proneneſs to filth.

The article, on which I have been commenting here, is followed by a letter from one *Mitchell* whom the above-mentioned writer ſtyles "*Doctor,*" and who, it ſeems, lives at New York. This man's letter is, to ſay the worſt of it at once, equal to any thing *Ruſh* ever wrote. This under-conjuror has diſcovered, amongſt other things, that the Engliſh, and all other nations, are very great fools for impoſing a quarantine on *any* veſſels, thoſe coming from

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from the *Levant* not excepted. In fact, this *Mitchell* is no more than an incoherent retailer of *Rush*'s wild and novel notions: and this is the authority, to which our *modeſt* gentleman appeals for a *refuation* of the arguments of the London Phyſician! Matchleſs modeſty! What an opinion muſt ſuch a man entertain of the underſtanding of his readers?

One remark of "*Doctor*" Mitchell is curious, on account of its phraſeology. The "*Doctor*" is ſpeaking of the evil effects of burying the dead in the church-yards, which are commonly ſituated in the centre of cities, and he aſks, with the *ſang froid* of a true *French Philoſopher*, if it would not "be better at "once for *Chriſtians* to diſcard the *ſuperſtition* which "leads to this practice, and *imitate the Jews and Ma-* "*hometans* in conveying their CARRION out of town." This yields not, either in unfeeling indifference, or diſguſting vulgarity, to the famous precept for bleeding patients till they were as *white as Jerſey veal*. The former is the language of a *farrier*, and the latter that of a *butcher*.

P. S. I wrote the above remarks on *Saturday*. Calling a veneration for the dead "*ſuperſtition*," exhorting Chriſtians to "*imitate the Jews and Maho-* "*metans*," and uſing the word "*carrion*" as applicable to a human corpſe, led me to ſuppoſe that "*Doctor*" Mitchell muſt be a *French Philoſopher*; it was, therefore, not without conſiderable exultation, that I perceived, by the New York papers of this morning, that he was one of the *Anti-federal candidates* who have juſt been defeated in that city.

Democratic Poetry.

The following article is taken from the *Nuſhville* (Tenneſſee) paper, called the *Rights of Man*, and publiſhed by one *John M'Laughlin*. This bloody-minded miſcreant is, undoubtedly, a *United Iriſhman*; but, his daring to promulgate ſuch diabolical

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ſentiments, proves, very clearly, that they are not very offenſive to the ears of his readers; and men, who can patiently liſten to ſuch ſentiments, are ready for rebellion and bloodſhed.—It is, taken altogether, the moſt daring publication I have ever ſeen. It is *a direct call to inſurrection and to the murder of the conſtituted authorities.*

O! thou ghoſt of Marcus Brutus!
O! thou dread immortal ſhade!
Thou whoſe ſpirit *now would ſuit us*,
Raiſe thy once tremendous head!
Riſe, and ſhake thy *vengeful dagger*,
Wet with Cæſar's haughty blood!
Petty Deſpots—ſee them ſtagger!
Hear the pious call on God!
Riſe, thou wond'rous ancient Roman,
To the right let thunders roar.
O! the bleſt propitious Omen!
" Kings ſhall rule the earth no more!"
How *we need ſo rare a ſpirit*,
In Columbia's weſtern climes!
Truth has loſt her former merit,
And corruption rules the times!
Columbia once the wonder,
Of admiring nations 'round;
She, who ſmil'd at Britiſh thunder,
In venality is drown'd.
She has loſt her ſenſe of honour,
She is ſunk ſupinely low;
Whilſt a generous few bemoan her,
She's inſenſible of woe.
She has loſt her ſenſe of honour,
She, from bad to worſe deſcends;
She lets Britannia ride upon her—
And is *forc'd to fight her friends.*
Here are Cæſars, noble Junius;
Here are Deſpots to be ſtoin!
Here are Kings, who importune us!
Here are fools, who wiſh to reign.
We are pleas'd with adulation;
Honeſty is out of date:
Lies, and vile diſſimulation,
Reign ſupreme in every State.

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We place our happineſs in ſplendour—
All our glory in parade;
Our real freedom we ſurrender,
Well contented with the ſhade.
Freedom was our former glory,
All devoted to her cauſe;
Now Conſtitution is the ſtory,
And obedience to the laws.
Freedom's ways are diſreſpected,
We, alas! no more are brave;
And a Monarch is expected—
Sure a King ſhould rule a ſlave.
We execrate a Revolution;
We are pleas'd with ancient forms:
'God preſerve our Conſtitution
'From wild Democratic ſtorms!'
Here is my ejaculation;
Hear a Patriot's fervent prayer;
Send! O ſend *Regeneration!*
Purify our morbid air!
Purify our ſickly nation!
Abrogate our muſty law!
Send! O! ſend Regeneration!
Succour Lord, a righteous cauſe!
Diſannul our Conſtitution,
Do away our penal laws,
Form a purer inſtitution,
Suited to a purer cauſe.
Waſh away each foul pollution,
Each Deſpotic curſed ſtain;
Send us, Lord, a Revolution!
And let freedom live again.
Raſe the Bill of feign'd ſedition,
All its evils do away;
Send the makers to perdition,
So let every patriot pray.
Build a hell of fierce Damnation,
For our Demi-Britiſh clan—
Send to the reſt, O God! ſalvation,
Bleſs them with the *Rights of Man.*

A DEMOCRAT.

March 11, 1799.

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Naſty Päſquin.—This wretch is no leſs remarkable for *naſtineſs* in his perſon than in his writings. He is always loathſome to the eye, and it is ſaid, that, in ſummer time, he is often offenſive to the ſmell. This ſwiniſh quality, in Anthony, gave occaſion to a moſt excellent repartee from *Lord Barrymore.*

The diſſolute life of this young nobleman is well known; and it is alſo well known, that Anthony ſerved him in the double capacity of *pander* and *poet laureat.* His Lordſhip had given a gala, and Anthony had compoſed an Ode for the occaſion. While ſome one was reciting the Ode, Lord Barrymore was ſo laviſh in his encomiums on it, that Tony ſuſpected he was only *ſmoothing him over:* "Come, come, my Lord," ſaid he, "you are not "ſincere; you are only *ironing* me."—"Am I, An-"thony," replied his Lordſhip, "I am very ſorry "for it, for, by G—d, I ſhould have *waſhed you firſt.*"

Tench Coxe.—Some people are aſtoniſhed at the barefaced inconſiſtency of this man's conduct, as a politician; but their aſtoniſhment will ceaſe, when they are informed, that, *while he was Secretary of the Abolition Society,* he abſolutely ſeized on two negroes in Philadelphia, and *ſent them to the Weſt Indies for ſale!!!* This is the *lover of liberty!* This is the fellow, who recommends to the Pennſylvanians to ſet *M'Kean* to rule over them, *leſt they ſhould loſe their freedom!* What a pity it was, that *Tench* forgot his *liberty principles,* at the only time in his whole life, when he had an opportunity of putting them in practice! He is very anxious to be *inſtrumental* in making *all the Pennſylvanians* free; nay, read his lying book, and you will ſee, that he ſighs for nothing ſo much as for *the emancipation of all the human race*;—all—all, he wiſhes to ſee free: his generous philanthrophy extends itſelf to every human being, with the trifling exception of two or three

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poor creatures, who are so unfortunate as to be *his property!*—Happy State of Pennsylvania, to have a Governor thrusted on it by a fellow like this!

Unitarianism.—The Gazette of the Boston slave, Minns, in his last number of it that reached my hands, attacks *Doctor Morse*, under the name of "*the* "*Sermonifer.*" The Doctor's offence appears to have been, strongly recommending *Mr. Wilberforce's* excellent book as an effectual antidote against *Socinianism*, now called *Unitarianism*. The Doctor is cautioned, with a great deal of rudeness, not to "*abuse*" (this is a favorite word with the *slaves*) the *Socinians*, and, is told, by way of *threat*, to make him hold his tongue in future, to recollect, "*that* OUR BELOVED "PRESIDENT *is a* SOCINIAN" !!!—The slave might have gone one step further, and cautioned the Doctor to say no more against *Deism, for that our beloved* VICE PRESIDENT *is a* DEIST!!!

Mother Bache.—This impudent woman, in the first number of her paper, published a most infamous libel against me. I was preparing to render her famous, at that time; but upon consideration I desisted. Since, however, she begins to talk of *modesty*, it is become absolutely necessary to give the world an idea of the degree in which she possesses that quality.

It is said, by some silly wretches, that the *woman* is not to blame; for, it is not she, *who writes in the paper.* I have been informed of the contrary; and I have every reason to believe that she wrote, with her own hand, the paragraphs I am about to quote. Besides, if the paper be *published by her*, every one but a soft-brained sot must know, that she is answerable for its contents, both in the eye of reason and of the law.

In

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In order to avoid the laſh of ſatire, and, perhaps, the penalty of the law alſo, ſhe has lately taken her name from the head of the paper, and put "*the heirs of Benjamin F. Bache*" in its ſtead. This is a miſerable trick. Every one knows, that *ſhe* is one of the heirs, and that the paper is the joint property of her and her children. But, theſe facts, obvious as they are, are not neceſſary to fix the ſmutty paragraphs on Mother Bache; becauſe, the paper, from which they were taken, and which was the *very firſt ſhe publiſhed*, bears *her name*, at full length, on the head of it. In order, however, to prove, inconteſtibly, that the publication was a voluntary deliberate act on her part, I ſhall firſt inſert the notice of *her reſolution* to continue the paper.

'The friends of civil liberty, and patrons of the 'Aurora, are informed that the Editor, BENJAMIN 'FRANKLIN BACHE, has fallen a victim to the 'plague that ravages this devoted city. In ordi-'nary times, the loſs of ſuch a man would be a 'ſource of public ſorrow—in theſe times, men who 'ſee, and think, and feel for their country and poſte-'rity, can alone appreciate the loſs—the loſs of a 'man inflexible in virtue, unappalled by power or 'perſecution—and who, in dying, knew no anxie-'ties but what were excited by his apprehenſions 'for his country—and for his young family.

'This calamity neceſſarily ſuſpends the Aurora—'*but for a few days* only—when ſuch arrangements 'ſhall have been made as are neceſſary to enſure 'its wonted character of intelligence and energy—'it will *re-appear under the direction* of

'HIS WIDOW.

'*Philadelphia, Sept.* 11, '98,
1 *o'clock, P. M.*'

Poor Ben. expired about *midnight*, and, as appears by the date, "HIS WIDOW" had this notice (which

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(which appeared in a hand-bill) ſtruck off before his corps was cold! It was actually hawked about the city, before day-light had ſcarcely made its appearance, and long before the huſband's dead body was put under ground!—There's "*delicacy*," there's "*ſenſibility*" for you! This noble act alone would, I ſhould think, entitle "THE WIDOW" to the honorable rank of *Citoyenne Françoiſe*; for, I very much doubt, if any one of the *Heroines* of the Fauxbourg Saint Antoine would have diſcovered more courage under ſimilar circumſtances.

Now for the "WIDOW's" firſt eſſay. She began her career with an enumeration of the *benefits* which the French *ſans culottes* had conferred on the world. After reciting their praiſe-worthy efforts to reſtore the *Rights of Man*, ſhe comes to their efforts, no leſs praiſe-worthy, for reſtoring the *Rights of Woman*.

Extracts from Mother Bache's Paper of Nov. 1ſt.

'One of the firſt acts of the Roman legiſlature 'was the prohibition of the uſe of the ſtiletto, 'which, under the debaſing influence of ariſto-'cracy, caſt ſo much odium on the Italian name. 'The wearing of that fatal, treacherous, and infa-'mous inſtrument, is forbidden on pain of death.

'The horrible practice of *caſtration* of the hu-'man ſpecies is alſo prohibited under the ſame pe-'nalty.'

M. Bache's Comments.

'Before the revolution this *ſhocking* practice was 'carried to ſuch an extent, that the barber's ſign-'boards, in the ſtreets of Rome, were ſeen inſcribed 'with theſe words—"*qui ſi caſtrano i puti maraviglia*, '"*ſamente*"—that is—*Here boys are* CASTRATED '*with wonderful dexterity!!* Thus we ſee how the 'vile Jacobins aboliſh, without mercy, the antient 'cuſtoms

'cuſtoms of antient States, "the fruits of the accu-
'"mulated wiſdom of ages." They have "demo-
'"liſhed the Pope," ſays the *moſt wiſeſt* of men;—
'yes, (ſays Numps,) and they have domoliſhed CA-
'STRATION, and deprived the barbers of their
'trade.'

There's "*delicacy!* There's "*female modeſty!*" Is the American reader willing that foreigners ſhall look upon this as a ſpecimen of the language of *republican* women? If he be, I can have no manner of objection to it. The compaſſion of this "lady" is of a curious kind. She can hear of the murders and maſſacrees in France, Germany, Switzerland, and elſewhere, and remain unmoved. She can ſee the bloody ruffians ſtabbing women and children by thouſands; ſhe can ſee Carrier ordering a child to be ſtuck on the point of a bayonet; ſhe can ſee Le Bon leading the wife to a window to view her huſband under the axe; ſhe can ſee Collot d'Herbois tying women to the guillotine, while the blood of their huſbands was ſtreaming on their heads; ſhe can ſee the Suabian women dragged from child-bed to violation; ſhe can even ſee infants ſtripped from their mother's womb, and all theſe, and ten thouſand times more, ſhe can ſee with perfect indifference; nay, ſhe can defend and extol to the ſkies, the brutal bloody ſans-culottes, by whom theſe more than helliſh deeds have been perpetrated; and yet, behold, how *tender-hearted* ſhe is become towards *the poor little Italian boys!* with what *maternal* zeal, with what courageous reſentment, with what ſavage fury, ſhe falls upon the *remorſeleſs barbers!* So have I ſeen a ſympathetic Sow, when ſome cruel catiff (lancet in hand) approached her tender brood, grunt and champ, and foam and fly, 'till all the *Swiniſh Multitude* were in an uproar.

Paſquin

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Paſquin.—As the Democratic "*Doctor*" Mitchell ſeems reſolved to clear New-York of all the *filth* that's in it, I would recommend to him to begin with the removal of *Anthony Paſquin*; for, according to the *Ruſhite* ſyſtem, the ſmell of this fellow alone is ſufficient to generate a Yellow Fever.—Let the New-Yorkers look to it!

If I lived in the neighbourhood of ſuch a naſty creature as Anthony, I abſolutely would preſent him to the Grand Jury as a nuiſance, juſt as I would a ſoap-boiler's gutter, or the raw hides of a trunk-maker.

Anthony Paſquin.—My readers (thoſe of New-York in particular) will certainly recollect, that I brought forward, about fifteen days ago, a body of moſt damning evidence againſt this *naſty* newſmonger*. From three celebrated Engliſh publications, I proved him to have been looked upon in England, as a deſpicable writer, and a baſe venal hireling; and, from his own confeſſions, I proved that he was looked upon in a true light. He has publiſhed two papers ſince; but, inſtead of attempting to defend himſelf, he voids the "rank fume "of his brains," as Mr. Gifford calls it, in wretched proſe, and more wretched verſe, about PETER PORCUPINE. He is trying the old trick of the M'Langs, the Browns, the O'Careys, the Webſters, the Baches, the Bradfords, the Callenders, and the Boſton Slaves, but it will fail him; for, he may write againſt P. Porcupine to eternity, and no one, not even of the ſans-culottes, will ever believe a word that he ſays. The enterprize is, therefore, hopeleſs. The ground has been beaten before him, over and over

* I collected together, and publiſhed, all the evidence I could procure againſt Anthony, which had the deſired effect, but which is too long to inſert here.

again.

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again. There is not a lie to be found out, which has not already been hunted down. Let him *try to defend himself*, or let him confeſs his crime, and take the halter quietly.

Anthony, in his laſt paper, has a ſort of drama, in which he has introduced the ghoſts of *Gardenir B——r* and *Swanwick*, dancing round me, and upbraiding me with having hurried them to the ſhades. He might have added the ghoſt of *Anthony Paſquin, Eſq.* for I ſhall moſt certainly ſend it to join them; and, indeed, the poor ghoſt may be very glad to get out of ſuch a ſinking tenement. But, it ſeems, Anthony is ſo ſure of damnation, that he is by no means eager to anticipate his doom.

Georgia Governor.—My readers, will, doubtleſs, recollect the publications, ſome time ago in my paper, reſpecting this Governor. It was clearly proved, by thoſe publications, for which I was indebted to a moſt excellent Georgia paper, that the Governor's *brother*, who is alſo his *Secretary of State*, had interfered, in the moſt under-hand, baſe, and wicked manner, to procure from the Grand Jury of Burke county, an indefinite and unlawful preſentment of *a printer*, and his *paper*, the former was, in this memorable preſentment, ſtyled a *nuiſance*, and the latter a *grievance*, without any *ſpecific charge* againſt either.

At a court held ſince that time, *Judge Walton* gave a charge, in which, alluding to this abominable act, he obſerved, that he was ſorry to have to ſay, "that Grand Juries had been reſorted to, *for the* "*purpoſe of INDIVIDUAL RESENTMENT*, &c." and he, therefore, cautioned the Grand Jury, to whom he was then ſpeaking, to beware of ſuch ſhameful and dangerous influence.

Tench Coxe, the Friend of Liberty!—This man, it is well known, is the principal of that junto, who have

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have insulted the people of Pennsylvania, by recommending to them, or rather *commanding* them to choose M'KEAN to rule the State. It was he who, with his own hand, wrote the insolent address, which the *lucious* Mrs. Bache, and her under-strappers, have circulated with such indefatigable industry. One of the reasons, which COXE makes use of in that address, is, that M'KEAN is the only man to preserve the *liberties* of the people; to secure to them and their children the enjoyment of those *natural* and *unalienable rights, which all mankind are equally entitled to.*

These are the *professions* of Tench Coxe; now let us see a specimen of his *practice.*

In the year 1785 or 1786, TENCH became a member of the Philadelphia Society for the *Abolition of Negro Slavery.* This Society was, and yet is, I believe, generally composed of men of *real* humanity, and of no small weight in public concerns. Tench's object, in gaining admission amongst them, evidently was to make interest to assist him in that office-hunting chase, which he was then, and has ever since been pursuing.

Animated with a spirit adequate to the laudable object in view, he commenced a most tender-hearted *philanthrophist.* He speechified, he sighed, he whined, he wept over the fate of the poor Africans in the West Indies, and he wrote long letters about *Maple Sugar.* In short, he acted his part so admirably, that, in a little time, he was chosen one of the *Secretaries* of the Society.

He was thus going on full sail, with both wind and tide to assist him, when an accident happened, the most untoward, the most untimely, and the most unfortunate, that ever came athwart the projects of an ambitious mortal. Just at the time when Tench was got into vogue, when his *humanity* was grown almost proverbial, when he was looked up to as the great

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great champion of the bleeding Africans, and while the hall of the Society yet resounded with his pious denunciations against "*the dealers in human flesh*," it was discovered, that Tench himself was A SLAVE-DEALER!!!!!!

The fact was this. A man, who had some negroes, owed Tench money. Tench seized the negroes, a mother and her child, in this city; he shipped them off to Santa Crux, and there, like another "*dealer in human flesh*," he had them *sold*.

This transaction was posted in the Coffee-House books, soon after it took place; Tench was, as they term it, "hauled over the coals," and the society compelled him to send and *buy* the negroes back again, and set them at liberty in the city of Philadelphia. The matter, like many other matters, was *hushed up*. Tench wrote to the society, who, I believe, pardoned him, upon condition that he should procure the complete emancipation of the unhappy mother and her daughter, and so the affair ended; but there are few of my readers so stupid as not to perceive, that if the Coffee-House books had remained silent, poor *Peg* and *Maria* would have wept out their existence under the lash of a driver.

This, Pennsylvanians, is the man, who, under the pretext of an anxious solicitude for *the preservation of your LIBERTIES*, now calls on you to choose *M'KEAN* as your ruler! Can you be weak enough, can you be silly, can you be dotish enough, to place any confidence in the *sincerity* of such a man? If you are, you deserve to be bound hand and foot, and trucked for the produce of the islands!

Anthony Pasquin.—I made a sort of promise, a few days ago, that Anthony's ghost should soon descend to the shades; and, if a judgment is to be formed from his last number, the descent is already begun. The miserable caitiff has made a doleful lamentation.

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lamentation. He complains bitterly of being "*in-*"*sulated* in ſociety;" that is to ſay, *neglected, avoided, ſhunned.* Poor wretch! if he is ſhunned *now*, what will he be when the *hot weather* comes on?

Copy of a letter from the Southern States.

MR. COBBETT,

"SIR, *April* 18, 1799.

"Your Southern friends are obliged to you for the compliment you pay them, reſpecting their punctuality.

"Incloſed you'll pleaſe receive a five dollar bill, I do not know exactly how we ſtand—will thank you to draw out my account to any fixed period, on the receipt of which, any balance that may appear due, ſhall be immediately tranſmitted to you.

"I feel at all times, a pleaſing ſatisfaction in the peruſal of your inſtructive paper; I only lament, that it does not come to hand more regularly.

"Your early and *well grounded attacks on* INDIVIDUALS, of democratical and anti-federal principles, has done valuable ſervice and great good to this country; and the people, within my knowledge and circle, appear obliged to you, and approve exceedingly of your firmneſs.—Accept if you pleaſe of my beſt wiſhes.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient ſervant."

I have publiſhed this letter to ſhow, that there are ſome men who think differently from the *ſmall federaliſts* of Philadelphia. This gentleman approves of thoſe "*well grounded attacks on* INDIVIDUALS," which have by ſome *ſilly* fellows, and more *GUILTY* fellows, been termed "*perſonalities*" and "*attacks* "*on private character.*" For my part, I never could ſee how abuſes were to be corrected, without attacking thoſe to whom they were to be attributed. If

ſwindling

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ſwindling and debauchery prevails, how are you to check it without expoſing the *ſwindler* and the *debauchee?* And how are you to expoſe them without attacking their private characters? The ſhort and long of the matter, is ſimply this; no man will ever give into this cant about *perſonality* and *attacking private* characters, unleſs that faithful monitor, his own conſcience, whiſpers him that *he is in danger.*

M'Kean.—This *honorable* perſonage is not only *canvaſſing*, as he goes his *Circuit* (Gracious God!); he is not only ſoliciting the votes of the *preſent citizens*, but he is abſolutely *making new ones!* Great numbers of Iriſhmen have flocked to the court, at the different places where he has held aſſizes, and have been *duly qualified to give their votes for him at the next election!*—"Vivant Reſpublica," I ſay; and the dog that does not ſay ſo, ought to die with the diſtemper.

When Congreſs paſſed their laſt naturalization law, there were ſeveral things which the Federaliſts did not foreſee, but which were clearly enough ſeen by the Sans-culottes. The former did not perceive that the *abjuration* clauſe in the oath would exclude every ſenſible and conſcientious foreigner, while the whole oath would be no reſtraint whatever to a democrat. Nor did they perceive, I fancy, the very great danger of lodging the power of *citizen making* in the *State courts*, the judges of which courts may at any time ſtand in need of an augmentation of voters to inſure their own election to ſome high ſtate-office, and even to Congreſs, or to the Preſidency. This law wants reviſing. The power of granting certificates of naturalization ſhould be lodged in the Federal courts only.

To

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To the Philoſophical Society of Philadelphia.

Gentlemen,

I take the liberty to approach you with a *Memoir* on Natural Hiſtory, which I am perſuaded you will find extremely intereſting. Its being taken from an *Engliſh* paper may, indeed, render it leſs agreeable to *you* than if it were derived from a ſource on the oppoſite ſide of the Channel; but, I truſt, that all political prejudices will be loſt in the philoſophical importance of the preſent ſubject.

'*An extraordinary Hen.*—Mrs. Lendon, a gentlewoman particularly attached to inveſtigate the operations of nature, had a fancy to attempt the hatching of a fowl by the heat of her own boſom; to that end, ſhe took a new-laid egg of a favourite breed, and having placed it in a flannel pocket, conſtantly kept it between her breaſts for the ſpace of ſix weeks, being ever careful in the night to ſecure it with her in bed, that portion of warmth neceſſary to perfect exiſtence during incubation. At length the time came to relieve the infant chicken from the brittle cell of its confinement; the moment was perceptible by the appearance of its little beak through the large end of the ſhell; but leſt an injury might be communicated by over haſte, Mrs. L. frequently applied a drop of ſoft water to the bill of her helpleſs charge, till it had ſtrength to burſt the walls of its confinement; when to the great ſatisfaction of its kind foſter parent, a fine ſtrong hen bird came forth, in all reſpects as lively as if produced by the warmth and care of its natural mother. But Mrs. L. not conſidering her taſk fully accompliſhed, made it a neſt of wool by day, and conſtantly took it to her bed by night, ſtill feeding it with that farinacious food moſt likely to accelerate its growth and ſpirits, and by this conduct, in the uſual time it became a fowl of perfect growth and beauty. It

is

'is at this moment a fine hen of three years old; 'and has laid Mrs. L. upwards of 300 eggs; 'brought up ſeveral broods of chickens, and one of 'ducks. The ſingular character of this hen, which 'Mrs. L. calls Fanny, is moſt worthy the attention 'of the curious in natural ſtudies. Her domeſti-'cations are numerous; ſhe prefers the houſe and 'the company of her kind friend to that of her 'own ſpecies, and will, if permitted, follow or ac-'company her miſtreſs wherever ſhe goes.—Fanny 'apparently underſtands her language, and has a 'mode of making herſelf an entertaining compa-'nion to Mrs. L. diverting her lonely hours, &c. 'In brief, this extraordinary bird poſſeſſes ſo many 'valuable qualities as human nature might not be 'degraded to imitate. She exhibits the pureſt af-'fection, poſſeſſes a true ſenſe of gratitude, and 'very often refutes a long ſtanding vulgar error, 'that "man is the only reaſoning creature.".

At the cloſe of this lecture, I think, gentlemen, I ſee you burſt out into extravagant encomiums on this learned lady, who appears to be no leſs laudably "attached to inveſtigate the *operations of nature*," than was that famous member of your body, who took ſuch extraordinary delight in furthering the procreation of jackaſſes*. But, gentlemen, give me leave to remind you of a circumſtance, which, it is probable, your abundant modeſty might otherwiſe prevent you from noticing. This diſcovery of the antiquated virgin of England is by no means *original*; and, which muſt agreeably ſurprize every American philoſopher, it is abſolutely derived from a worthy member of your ſociety. You will at once perceive, that I allude to that profound ſcholar and accompliſhed nobleman, Lord Thomas Bradford, vulgarly called *Goofy Tom*. His Lordſhip, ſome years ago, propoſed to your learned body, a mode of hatching

* Thornton.

geeſe,

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geese, without the aid of the old one; and to this propoſition, the diſcovery of Mrs. Lendon evidently owes its origin. Lord Thomas did, indeed, propoſe depoſiting the eggs in a part of the human body widely different from that made uſe of by the lady; but then, he went upon the ſuppoſition that the hatching buſineſs ſhould be performed by men only. Had the idea of a pair of cuddling bubbies preſented itſelf to his imagination, I dare ſay he would have preferred them to any other ſucceda-neum whatſoever. At any rate, the pretended *diſcovery* of Madam Lendon is but an *improvement* at moſt; and I feel happy in having it in my power thus to reſtore the *invention* to its legitimate owner.

I am, gentlemen,
Your moſt obedient
Humble ſervant,
P. PORCUPINE.

Philadelphia, 23*d May*, 1799.

To Tench Coxe.—One of the grounds, on which you have taken upon you to requeſt, or rather to *command*, the people to put M'KEAN in the chair of State is, the Judge's "*public ſervices* during the "late revolution." If I recollect right, one of the firſt "*public ſervices*" which your protégé performed, was, trying and *condemning to death* the two quakers, ROBERTS, and CARLISLE! And, pray Tench, tell me, how would *you* have liked to be an object of ſuch "*public ſervices?*" Neither of theſe men ever went out to join the Britiſh army; neither of them I am ſure ever marched into Philadelphia under the banners of General Howe; and, if the judgment on them was juſt (which I am not diſpoſed to controvert), if the paſſing of that judgment ought to be ranked amongſt a man's "*public ſervices*," what, in your conſcience, ought to have been *your fate?*

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Ha! ha! ha! ha!—Do you know what I am laughing at, Tench?—To think of your publiſhing your negro-like defence in *Bradford's paper.* To ſee you flying for ſhelter under the wing of Tom Bradford, has diverted me more than any thing that this farcical world ever exhibited to my view.—Why, man, it was this very Tom Bradford, that firſt gave me information reſpecting you! It was he that gave me *notices* for your hiſtory; it was he that told me all about your famous *triumphal entry*; and, O lud! how he uſed to grind his tuſks and curſe, in telling me, that you had been rewarded with a fat office, under the Federal government, to the excluſion of ſome good honeſt whig like himſelf. Tom, too, had his "*public ſervices.*" He was (in thoſe good times, when *Roberts* and *Carliſle* were condemned by *Judge M'Kean*) a public functionary called a *keeper*;—not a *keeper of the ſeals*, nor a *keeper of the rolls*, but a *keeper of priſoners.* He might, for ought I know, have had the TORIES, *Roberts* and *Carliſle*, in his cuſtody; and if you, Tench, eſcaped the ſame honour, it was not, I am pretty ſure, for want of a good diſpoſition in *Tom Bradford.*

But think not that I wiſh to diſturb your harmony. Fraternize together as long as you pleaſe; you are well worthy of each other.—More another time.

TRUE AMERICAN.

The *True American* is a non-deſcript animal: naturaliſts have not yet defined its genus or ſpecies; it is neither fiſh, fleſh, nor good red-herring.—But to judge of it from S. Bradford's daily paper, you would imagine it was a creature of the ſpaniel breed; the more he is kicked, and caned, and trod upon, the more he will fondle: the more you abuſe and inſult him, the more he will creep and cringe for reconciliation. Or, to ſpeak without a metaphor, if foreigners were to judge from the ſpirit of

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this editor; the *True American* has no elevation of mind; no juſt ideas of *national honour*; and makes no diſtinction between what is juſt and honorable, and what is baſe and flagitious in the conduct of nations: he eſtimates every thing by Cocker's arithmetic. This creature would league with the King of Hell, if there was any trade or any ſubſcribers to be had among his infernal ſubjects.—The profligate deſpots of Paris no ſooner change their haughty, inſolent tone of menace and abuſe, for intrigue, artifice, and treachery; they no ſooner make a pretence to renew the negotiations of peace; liberate a few ſeamen; publiſh to the world that they intend to reſtore ſome part of a ſingle prize; and to ſend an ambaſſador extraordinary, than this ſervile printer catches the news with as much avidity, as a catfiſh would a worm, and ſpreads it about exultingly in the LARGEST CHARACTERS of a PAPER EXTRA. With him there is no infamy attached to the paſt or the preſent conduct of the French republic; there is no diſhonor, nor danger, in looking tamely on, while this monſter is devouring other nations in dreadful ſucceſſion—provided we are indulged in a ſhort interval of lucrative commerce, the profits of which ſhe will finally make us diſgorge, with compound intereſt.

This, according to Sam Bradford's vocabulary, is to be a *True American*.

JUNE, 1799.

"MIRACLES WILL NEVER CEASE."

Friend Peter,

"It is reported, that thy old friend JUDGE M'KEAN, having *lately* made the people, called Quakers, a ſubject of his profound contemplation, finds that he has for a *long time* been miſtaken in them. He has not only diſcovered, that their religious tenets

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are perfectly evangelical, but alſo that they ſurpaſs in moral rectitude all other deſcriptions of men, and are the very beſt citizens in Pennſylvania! He has declared their form of worſhip the moſt rational of any he is acquainted with, and it is ſaid, *friend Thomas* has it under ſerious conſideration to commence attendance at their public meetings!

Thine, &c. &c. A. B."

"Now, by St. Paul, the work goes bravely on!" Nothing that I ever ſaw or ever heard of would pleaſe me half ſo well as to ſee "*His Honour the "Doctor of Laws, Eſqr.*" in a broad-brimmed hat, and a capeleſs coat. But, halt? What ſhall we do with the three-tailed wig? It muſt not hang dangling down over a piece of ſmooth mouſe-coloured cloth; and as to *a cap*, it would never ſuit either a Judge or a Governor. A red liberty cap, indeed, ſome Governors have been proud to wear; but this, I take it, would ſuit worſe with a Quaker coat than even a three-tailed wig.—Notwithſtanding this difficulty, however, I ſincerely wiſh to ſee the *converſion* take place. I look upon the change to be a ſtep in the road of grace, and there is no human being whom I wiſh to ſee travel faſter in this road than "*His Honour.*"—Let no Quaker ſay he comes in at the *eleventh honour*. HE who ſees the hearts of men counts not their ſervices by hours and minutes. In the other world there are many manſions; and the two Quakers, *Roberts* and *Carliſle*, who died on the gallows tree, may (though it is very improbable) inhabit the ſame apartment, that is deſtined for the reception of the honourable man who condemned them.

Againſt the ſincerity of this converſion, let no one cite the paſt conduct of His Honour.—"*Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me?*"—This ſingle remonſtrance once operated a converſion full as aſtoniſhing as that

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of which I am ſpeaking; and who knows, but His Honour alſo may have ſeen a *viſion?* I hope in God's mercy it will prove that he has!

Paſquin.—The perſon who ſends me a receipt for the cure of a certain faſhionable diſeaſe, and who recommends it upon the ſtrength of *his own experience*, is informed, that it would be of very little uſe to *Porcupine's Gazette.* Perhaps, it might be acceptable to "*THE TRUE AMERICAN*," a paper which is continually *under a courſe of medicine*, and which, notwithſtanding, ſeems to be in a very rotten condition.—If the ſame humane correſpondent has any remedy for a galloping conſumption, any potent drug that will ſnatch a patient from the very jaws of death, I beſeech him to diſpatch it, without a moment's delay, to the expiring *ANTHONY PASQUIN*, Eſq. at New York.

Advertiſement of the Supreme Court!!!

"*Philadelphia, June* 6.

"The Term limited by Congreſs for naturalizing "Aliens, expiring on the 18th June, inſt. *the Juſtices* "*of the Supreme Court* of Pennſylvania *will afford* an "opportunity to ſuch Aliens as are intitled, of being "naturalized, at their Court, which is to be held on "the 17th June inſt.——June 5."

This notification is copied, word for word, from the Gentle Claypoole's paper of this morning, and a very pretty notification it is. According to the common import of advertiſements, we muſt clearly underſtand this to be *an advertiſement of the Juſtices of the Supreme Court*; for, who would dare to advertiſe in their name, without their authority?—We have ſeen advertiſements of various ſorts, but, I believe, this is the firſt *Judiciary Advertiſement* that ever appeared in the world.—Had not *Juſtices* been put

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put in the plural number, I ſhould not have been in the leaſt ſurprized at the notification; in the *ſingular* it would have been quite in character as well as ſtyle; but I muſt confeſs that I am much amazed that *all* the Juſtices of the ſupreme court (if it be their act) ſhould join in ſuch a notification.

Democratic Bribery.—One of the candidates for a ſeat in the Legiſlature of this State at the election lately cloſed, amongſt other artifices uſed to wriggle himſelf into power, promiſed a poor carman, if he would vote for the Democratic Ticket, and if they ſhould eventually ſucceed, he would procure him the office of *Inſpector of Lumber for the city of New York.*

The reſult of the canvas is generally known: but the effects of the diſappointment on the mind of the carman, it is not eaſy to conceive. He had begun to aſſume an air of greatneſs, preparatory to his entrance on the promiſed poſt; and, from the revolution of ſentiment which has taken place in the city, he has ſtrong apprehenſions that himſelf and his patron are likely to wear out the remainder of life in the obſcurity and inſignificance to which they were originally deſtined, both by nature and education.

Aſtoniſhing Baſeneſs.—I thought that nothing in this way could ever aſtoniſh me, after what I have witneſſed in the conduct of the American printers; but, I muſt now confeſs that I was miſtaken. I now perceive that it is poſſible for a thing in human ſhape to ſink itſelf infinitely beneath the moſt deſpicable of brutes. For the reader to be fully convinced of this, he has only to read the following paragraph from *M'Lang's* paper.

" Before the Packet left Halifax, two of the Cork " fleet had arrived there. Letters were received by " them from the captain of the BOSTON, which " mentioned

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" mentioned that after he had ſeen the Southern " ſhips ſafe in, he intended to go to New York. " WE ſhall again have the PLEASURE of ſeeing " the frigate WHICH BEAT THE AMBUS- " CADE!!!!!!!

Here this, ye Gods, and ſtrike the crawling caitiff dumb!—Reader, do you remember when this frigate, the BOSTON, " beat the Ambuſcade?" I, was in the autumn of 1793. She did beat her though far inferior in number of men and weight of metal; but this fact, though every one knew it, was ſtoutly *denied* by the New York newſmongers, who, however they might diſagree in other points, all united to belie and abuſe the Boſton frigate, and the Britiſh fleet. This very paper, which now tells us, that " WE ſhall again have the PLEASURE of " ſeeing the frigate that BEAT THE AMBUS- " CADE," ſwore moſt bravely that the Ambuſcade beat the Boſton, that the Boſton ſheered off, that the French were gallant fellows, and the Engliſh cowards! It is well known, that many merchant ſailors and watermen of New York went on board, to aſſiſt the Ambuſcade in the battle; it is well known, that every voice (that dared to make itſelf heard) was in favour of the French; and it is alſo well known, that every convenience was prepared on ſhore for the wounded republicans, that money was collected for their aſſiſtance, and that " the patriotic ladies of New York," as they were ſtyled, actually ſent their linen to cover the wounds of the dear Sans-culottes. All this was recorded by the New York Gazette, with as great " *pleaſure*," as it now tells us it ſhall take in " again ſeeing the *frigate that beat the Ambuſcade!!*"—Good God! preſerve me from being debaſed by following the ſame buſineſs that theſe wretches follow!

COUNT

COUNT TILLY.

Golden Swan, June 19, 1793.

MR. COBBETT,

Leaving the United States in a few days, I beg you to inſert in your valuable paper, the following lines, to defeat the purpoſe of ſeveral enemies of mine, indefatigable in their attempts to deſtroy my fame, and ruin my character.

Having been obliged on ſome particular and urgent buſineſs to leave abruptly Philadelphia, I am told that ſome ill-intentioned perſons have circulated the falſe and injurious rumour, that my intention was to depart America, without paying my creditors. One word will ſuffice to convince the world of the infamous falſhood of ſuch an aſperſion.—I had left behind more than three thouſand pounds ſterling, in the Bank of North America (in caſh or in notes), which were to be delivered TO ME ONLY.

Any perſon having any demand upon me, may call at Mr. Gueroull's, merchant, South Front-ſtreet, near the Cuſtom-houſe, where, on producing any lawful claim againſt me, they ſhall be inſtantly ſatisfied. I can only ſay, that I ſhould wiſh that thoſe who are indebted to me, would be ſo willing to reimburſe me, as I am to fulfil that duty towards others.

CT. ALEXANDER DE TILLY.*

June 19.

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* The Count, having now exchanged his wife for a ſum of money, is not quite ſo *love-ſick* as he was in April laſt, when he inſerted the following adverti ſement:

"One Thouſand Dollars Reward.

"As I have been deprived of my lawful, beloved Wife, Maria "Matilda Counteſs de Tilly (late Maria Matilda Bingham, daughter "of William Bingham, Eſq.), of Philadelphia, ever ſince the 12th "inſt. any perſon giving information where ſhe is, ſo that I may "be reſtored to her preſence and ſociety, ſhall receive the above "reward.

"*April 27.* "COUNT ALEX. DE TILLY."

Death

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Death of Anthony Paſquin, Eſq.—If my readers will look into my paper for about five weeks back, they will find, that I predicted the literary death of this wretched being. My prediction is now accompliſhed; he made his exit laſt Saturday about noon. Anthony, like other great men, retreated with what he calls "A VALEDICTORY ADDRESS," in which he, in no very equivocal terms, aſcribes his extermination to my *efforts*; but this I cannot allow of, for I never made any *efforts* againſt him. He may, indeed, owe his untimely fate to an accidental ſtroke from my pen; but, to accuſe me of the deliberate killing of ſuch an animal, is to put me upon a level with a rat-catcher.

The Dying Words of Martin Mc Loughlin, who was taken Priſoner after the defeat of the French and Rebels, at the Battle of Ballinamuck, in the county of Longford; and being tried by a Court Martial, was found guilty, and ordered for execution at St. Johnſtown, in ſaid county, on Monday, 30th September, 1798. Wherein is recounted, the manner in which ſaid Mc Loughlin and others were enliſted to ſerve in the French army: how poor Billy Rourke was ſhot by a French Officer, for Mutiny: how the Iriſh Recruits were harneſſed like horſes, to draw the French cannon from Ballinamuck to Caſtlebar, over the Barnagee mountains: how poor old Judy Dunn and her Siſter-in-law were raviſhed by a Negro Officer in the French army. With a true account of the Battles of Caſtlebar, Coloony, and Ballinamuck.

MY father was a ſchoolmaſter in the town of Sligo, where I was born: he taught me to read and cipher till I was fourteen years of age; he then put me apprentice to my uncle Dennis, who was a carpenter by trade, in the ſame town. I came out of my apprenticeſhip laſt June, was two years; and having

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having a mind to ſet up for myſelf, I took a cabin and a neat bit of a garden at the croſs roads near Coloony, and married Nancy Hogan, the ſhoemaker's daughter, of that town, by whom I have two children; and as my wife's father died laſt February, and left her two cows, and forty guineas in money, I bought two more cows at the fair of Boyle, and I took a field on the other ſide of the road: and Nancy, who was a clever active girl, ſet up a bit of a dairy, in a new cabin which I built adjoining to the old one; and we were getting rich every day, as I ſupported Nancy and myſelf by making cars, and working jobs in the neighbourhood; and Nancy made a deal of money by ſelling milk and butter. I paid my rent cheerfully, and was as happy as I could be, when unfortunately for me, I fell in company with Mr. Stephen Farrell, who held a good ſnug farm under Mr. Cullen, near Manor Hamilton. I was drinking with Ned Beaghan, the carman, and my neighbour Billy Rourke, in Coloony, on Saturday the 25th of Auguſt, when Mr. Farrell, and two other gentlemen came in, and ſat down oppoſite to us; Mr. Farrell then got up, and whiſpered Ned Beaghan, who immediately aſhed me—*if I was up?*—"To be ſure I am," ſays I, not thinking any harm. "Who ſwore you?" ſays he.—"Andrew M'Donough, at the Bridge, ſwore me in October laſt, to be true and faithful to the *united cauſe*," ſays I, "Billy, my boy." Says Mr. Farrell to Rourke, "*I know you are up.*"—"That I am, by Jebus," ſays Billy. "Then," ſaid Mr. Farrell, "we are all agreed; and now is our time, for here is Mr. Moody, of Foxford, and my friend Larry Dunn, of Ballina, come direct from the French general Humbert, who is landed at Killala, with ten thouſand men, and plenty of muſkets and ball cartridges; and Mr. Moody has got a commiſſion of colonel of a regiment, to enliſt men for the ſervice of the *united cauſe*."—That's right,"

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right," cries Billy; "*the French are our beſt friends* —now is our time—I am ready," ſays Billy. "And ſo am I," ſays Ned Beaghan. I then began to think of poor Nancy, and my cows, and my two children; little Nora in particular. "And why?" ſays I to myſelf? "I took the oath when I was not worth a groat in the world, and before I was married, and before little Nora was born, and that alters the caſe entirely; and ſo," ſays I, "gentlemen, do you ſee, I won't go with you, for I want for nothing, and I am ſure we'll be all hanged if we do go; and as for the French, I don't believe they are landed at all, and it's all a bam; that's my opinion," ſays I. Upon which Mr. Moody took out and read the proclamation of the French general, which tells us, "that we are oppreſſed and plundered by the gentry." I thought that rather odd, when I recollected how many poor people were daily fed and cloathed by Mr. Cooper, Mr. Phibbs, and the other gentlemen in my neighbourhood.—"that our holy religion is trampled on by the Iriſh government."—"What can that mean," ſays I, "when I know that my couſin Patrick is now learning divinity, with two hundred Iriſh lads, at the college of Maynooth, at the expence of government; and I am told that this ſame college coſts government above 100,000l. and it is intended for nothing but to make Catholic prieſts, gratis?"

And the proclamation goes on to tell us, "that the Frenchmen love us better than themſelves; that they are come over here entirely out of pure love and affection to us; and that above all things they will protect and cheriſh our holy religion." May be, thought I, they will cheriſh and protect us as they did our holy father the Pope, whom they took priſoner and degraded. And the proclamation further promiſes, "that they will not rob, plunder, and murder us, as they did the poor Dutchmen, who invited them into Holland; but they

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they will give us all the plunder of the nobility and gentry, and take nothing themſelves." — "I like that part very well," ſays I, thinking no harm at all. "I always told you," ſays Billy, "*that the French were our beſt friends.*" Mr. Moody then ſhowed his commiſſion, which was printed in Engliſh, with a large ſeal upon it, and tied up with three ribbons of different colours, with the words—LIBERTY AND EQUALITY, in capitals at top. I didn't think much of that, becauſe I knew ſuch things could be counterfeited; but he immediately pulled out a purſe of new guineas, which he ſaid was the coin in which we were all to be paid; and I confeſs, without meaning any harm at all, the ſight of the guineas pleaſed me much, but Moody wouldn't even let me touch them. He aſked me, however, if I paid any rent for my houſe and land: "To be ſure I do," ſays I; "you ſhall never pay any more, my lad," ſays he then: "nor any tithe," ſays Larry Dunn, "I'll engage for that." Upon which I began to like the buſineſs better than at firſt; and ſo, without thinking any harm, agreed to go with them. Mr. Moody, I beg his pardon, *Colonel Moody*, (for that was the name we now called him) deſired us to get our horſes, and be ready in two hours time; I told him I had no horſe; "What ſignifies that, you fool?" ſays farmer Farrell; "hasn't Mr. Cooper, your landlord, plenty of fine horſes down in the Grange meadow? take one of them."—"And would you have me go rob," ſays I, "and be hanged for horſe-ſtealing?"—"That's not robbery, but plunder, my boy," ſays the Colonel; "remember you are now a ſoldier of the *united* army, and you have a right to take every thing which may diſtreſs the enemy. Mr. Cooper is what they call a *loyal man*, it is therefore your duty to plunder him." I own I liked this part of the Colonel's ſpeech very much. "And might I take

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I take a cow too," ſays I, without thinking any harm; "Mr. Cooper has a rare one, which Nancy tells me gives more milk than the two which I bought at the fair."—"Tut, you fool," ſays Dunn, "what would you do with a cow? You couldn't ride her to Ballina, where we muſt all be before morning." Upon which I borrowed a bridle from Mr. Tiernan, who keeps the Harrow, and Billy Rourke and I went off immediately to the Grange meadow, and ſoon caught two fine mares, which we mounted; and as I was coming out of the ſecond field, I ſaw the Engliſh cow lying down by the ſide of the hedge. "By Jebus," ſays I, "there ſhe is."—"Who?" cried Billy, in a fright. "The large red cow," ſays I, "and I'll have her," ſaid I. "Then fare ye well," ſays Billy; "I'll go to the Harrow, and meet the Colonel and the reſt." Upon which I got off my mare, and drove the red cow directly home, and put her in the old houſe, where I kept my cows in winter. It was now about one o'clock in the morning, and Nancy was gone to bed, and my door was ſhut; I was going to rap at it, to tell Nancy what I had done, and take leave of her; but, thought I, poor creature, ſhe will break her heart, and ſhe'll be angry with me for ſtealing Mr. Cooper's cow, for ſhe'll call it *ſtealing*, though I know 'tis only *plunder*; and if little Nora ſhould awake and cry after me, I ſhould never be able to quit the ſpot; ſo I turned about, mounted the mare, and rode off to the Harrow, where I found Colonel Moody, Mr. Farrell, and the reſt, waiting for me, with five others, who had joined them; and I told Ned Tiernan's wife to let Nancy know that I had bought her a fine red cow, which I had tied up in the old cabin, and deſire Nancy to keep her ſnug.

As ſoon as we arrived at the French camp, Colonel Moody went up to a tall officer with a terrible high

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high red cap, a blue jacket, green pantaloons, and a fine red ſaſh acroſs his ſhoulders; and we were all ſurprized to hear this ſtrange looking man, through a huge pair of whiſkers, talk Engliſh juſt like ourſelves. He immediately gave us all what he called the *fraternal embrace*, which was juſt the *Iriſh hug*, in other words. He told us we were all patriots, and would ſoon be great men. He then called for cockades of three colours, and gave each of us one, together with a blue jacket, and took our big coats from us. We were all very loth to part with our big coats, which we had found the beſt of friends in rainy weather; but the officer, our countryman, put a frown on his whiſkers, and told us, in a terrible voice, that we muſt obey orders. He then called for the French ſergeants, who put muſkets in our hands, and made about a dozen of us draw up in a line; the ſame was done with other ſquads, who came in at the ſame time, and we were all marched about for an hour. Some of the boys who had walked a great way, being tired, I ſuppoſe, ſat down on the graſs, upon which the ſergeant gave them ſuch whacks over the head and ſhoulders, as made them jump up in a moment. I didn't think this an agreeable commencement of the buſineſs, but I ſaid nothing: there was ſome grumbling among the boys, which, though the ſergeants didn't underſtand, they ſilenced with more whacks. What vexed me moſt of all was, that the ſergeant who commanded our ſquad was a Weſt India negro, as black as the pot, and as cruel as the devil himſelf. Poor Billy Rourke, who had taken a hearty glaſs on the road, and was a little top-heavy, happened to drop his muſket in ſhouldering, and when he ſtooped to pick it up, the black villain gave him a terrible blow with the flat of his ſword, between the ſhoulders, which almoſt tumbled him to the ground. Billy immediately

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immediately ſnatched up the muſket, and being a very ſtrong fellow, gave the black villain a blow with the but end of it, which levelled him to the ground, and broke the muſket; and while Billy ſtood over the ſergeant, and was going to give him a finiſhing ſtroke with the barrel of the piece, which he held in his hand, a French officer ſtepped up, and ſhot Billy through the head. I then began to ſuſpect that poor Billy was a little miſtaken, when he ſaid, "*that the French were his beſt friends.*" Shortly after this, we were ordered to lay down our muſkets, and take arms in our hands, which a comical rogue of our own country ſaid were better ſuited to us, and he immediately brought us a great parcel of trenching tools, as he called them, but they were nothing elſe but ſhovels, picks and ſpades, and we were ordered to ſet to and make a great ditch round the camp. Thinks I to myſelf, this is very odd kind of preferment; and I was going acroſs to aſk farmer Farrell (who was obliged to dig as well as the reſt) what kind of treatment this was, and why he didn't keep his promiſe of making me an officer, when the ſame damned negro raſcal came up and gave me a ſmart ſtroke of a rattan acroſs my ſhoulder, crying out, in broken Engliſh, "Vat you do out of your place, you von Iriſh raſcal?" If I had not recollected the fate of poor Billy, I ſhould certainly have ſtiffened the black ſcoundrel with the ſpade in my hand. "This is *liberty* and *equality*, indeed," thought I, and "*they love us better than themſelves.*"—"Who doubts it?" ſays I to myſelf; and ſo I returned quietly to my place, *and went on digging for my own advantage, to be ſure, as farmer Farrell told me.* We then got ſome potatoes and brandy, and a piece of a cow half raw, to eat, and were ordered out to forage for the army. I went to take my mare, which I ſaw tied up with other horſes in the camp, and

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and when I was going to mount her, "*Sacre Blue,*" ſays a French ſoldier, drawing his bayonet, and giving me a ſlight prod of it on the thigh. I thought of poor Billy's fate, quitted my mare, and ſet out on foot with the party, thinking, at the ſame time, that it was rather an odd way of giving us the plunder of the nobility and gentry—to make us rob them firſt, and then ſtick a bayonet in us for attempting to uſe what we had taken. But I thought of poor Billy's fate, and only grumbled in the gizzard. I ſet out afoot with the reſt, foraging as they called it, but that is only another name for plundering; we took every cow, bullock, ſheep, hog, cock, hen, chicken, duck, turkey, gooſe, pig, and gander, which we could lay our hands upon. There was ſome grumbling to be ſure, and not a little ſcolding from the women, whoſe cabbins were robbed; but the officer who commanded the party, and ſpoke a little Engliſh, ſaid, "*De Dubbelin Derectori il pay for all.*" The women did not ſeem quite ſatisfied with this mode of payment, nor did I comprehend it till Colonel Moody afterwards ſhewed me a regular draught or bill of exchange for 200l. drawn by the French General on the Directory of the Iriſh Union in Dublin, which he had been obliged to take as payment for twelve fat bullocks, three cows, and a ſcore of ſheep, with which he had ſupplied the French immediately on their landing. "And where did you get that purſe of new guineas which you ſhewed us at Coloony?" ſaid I. "Here they are," ſaid he, laughing; "they are all braſs counterfeits, gilt:—and ſo they were. "By my ſoul," thought I, "you will have no reaſon to laugh if the bill of exchange you have got in payment for your fat bullocks, ſhould prove a counterfiet too."

We returned to Ballina in the evening with our booty, followed by the curſes of the poor creatures all round the country, whom we had robbed. We found

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found the army impatient for our arrival; the plunder (I mean the forage) was diſtributed immediately, and in about two hours we were ordered to march. I had been riding without a ſaddle all the night before; I had been digging part of the morning, and the remainder of the day I had been employed in plundering the farmers and poor cottagers all round Ballina, and had got plenty of eggs and bacon to eat in the cabins to be ſure, and was very well diſpoſed to go ſleep; but that could not be. I took my muſket and was going to march with the reſt, when I was called to by Col. Moody, and actually harneſſed with ſeveral others to draw one of the guns; ſome of the boys refuſed to be yoked, and poor Jack Cuſack, the blackſmith of Ballintrave, who reſiſted the French ſoldier who was putting him into the harneſs, was ſtruck in the belly with a bayonet, and left in the ſtreet of Ballina weltering in his blood! When we were fairly in the traces, we got each of us a glaſs of good brandy, which put us in heart, and we ſet off at a trot, which pace we were not able to keep long when we came to the bad road and ſteep hills above Ballina. Several French officers and ſergeants (many of them of the negro breed) walked along with us; and when any one of us ſlackened his pace, a ſtroke of the rattan, or prod of the bayonet, was ſure to make him ſtep out. After about an hour's dreadful labour we were relieved, and another ſet of the Iriſh boys were harneſſed, and ſo we took it in turns the whole night, keeping the guns at a trot, or a ſmart walk all the way. After the firſt relief I overtook Larry Dunn, of Ballina, who was crying bitterly. "Well," ſaid I, "Larry, have you been harneſſed?" "No," ſaid he, "I am not able to draw, and ſcarcely able to walk; I received a cut of a ſabre this evening on my right ſhoulder, and two of my teeth have been knocked down my throat, for endeavouring in vain

to prevent two French ſoldiers and a negro raſcal of an officer from raviſhing my wife Judy and my ſiſter Mary. I complained to Colonel Moody of the outrage; he ſaid he was very ſorry for it, but there was no time then for enquiry, as we were juſt going to march;—and this is the way," cried Larry, "that they make their fine promiſes, and prove their love for us!" I could not help telling Larry in a whiſper, "that it would have been better for him to pay tithes all the days of his life, than to have loſt his teeth, and to have had his wife diſhonoured by a French negro! What a breed poor Larry will have, if ever he lives to get home!

We arrived at laſt, about ſeven o'clock in the morning near Caſtlebar, and then began the work. Myſelf and the other Iriſh recruits under the command of General Blake, were ordered to advance to attack the militia; but before we came up with them, we received a dreadful fire from the artillery, which killed hundreds of us all round, and threw us into confuſion. We ran, and were followed by ſome troops; I don't know who they were; but the French ſoldiers, dreſſed in our big coats, who had concealed themſelves behind the guns and tumbrils, and in the ditches, waited till we had paſſed, and then gave the King's troops a terrible volley, and every ſhot told, as they fired from reſts at their different places of concealment. The effect of this ſurpriſe and ſlaughter was aſtoniſhing: the King's troops fled with precipitation. The French immediately rallied from different points, and purſued them, while the Iriſh recruits ran into Caſtlebar to plunder the town. We were very buſily employed at this work, when a French General called Sarraſin, came into the town and took every pin's-worth from us which we had taken. We were all highly diſpleaſed at this conduct; and two of our Captains, Walter Mourne and Nich. Caſſidy, who remonſtrated rather

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rather too freely, and refuſed to obey orders, were ſhot by the French ſoldiers without any ceremony. Next day we were all muſtered, and drilled for two hours in the morning; we were afterwards ordered to take our ſhovels, picks, and ſpades, as before, to cut ditches round the town; in the evening we were drilled again: and the next day the ſame work went on, alternately drilling and digging. After reſting a week at Caſtlebar we were ordered to march. We ſet out at night, and the Iriſh recruits were harneſſed to the guns as before.

We reached Foxford before day, and proceeded without halting to Coloony, where we arrived early on Tueſday, the 4th of September. I went immediately to my houſe to ſee my wife, and little Nora, and my cows; but what was my grief to hear from the neighbours, that Mr. Cooper's ſteward, having found the red cow locked up in my old houſe, got a warrant againſt poor Nancy, and lodged her in Sligo gaol; and the advanced guard of the French army, together with ſome Iriſh recruits, had that very morning taken my other cows, and killed them for the uſe of the camp. I knew it was uſeleſs to complain: all the redreſs I could expect was an order for reimburſement on the Directory of the Iriſh Union in Dublin, which I began to think not worth aſking for. While I was lamenting over my loſſes, and the ſufferings of my poor Nancy in gaol for my crime, the cannon began to roar at a terrible rate. I ran to my poſt, and ſaw that our advanced guard was beaten back, and our whole line was attacked by the Limerick militia, who marched out of Sligo to give us battle. They were commanded by Colonel Vereker, who poſted them ſo advantageouſly, that they entirely ſtopped the progreſs of our whole army. They fought us for near two hours, and killed a conſiderable number of our men, particularly of the Iriſh recruits, who were always puſhed

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into the hotteſt part of the action. It was here that farmer Kennedy was killed, and poor Ned Beaghan had both his legs ſhattered by a cannon ball. The French were enraged to ſee ſuch a handful of men (they were leſs than three hundred) contend with more than ten times their number.

We at length got poſſeſſion of their two curricle guns, which had done ſuch execution among us, and they were then obliged to retreat, which they did in tolerable order. By this bold and judicious ſtroke, the Limerick militia ſaved the town of Sligo from all the horrors of a plundering army, diſpirited our troops, and ſtopped our progreſs for upwards of ſix hours; and by that means enabled General Lake's army to come up with us at Ballinamuck, after the moſt ſevere march ever known. More than one half of the Iriſh recruits deſerted after the affair at Coloony, and I would have gone off with the reſt, but that I was afraid of being hanged if I returned home, for ſtealing Mr. Cooper's red cow.

When General Lake's army came in ſight we gave ourſelves up for loſt. The French knew they were not able to face them; and when a ſmall body of the advanced guard came near, ſome of the French began to throw down their arms; upon which Captain Packenham and General Craddock, with about twenty dragoons, rode up and ordered the French to ſurrender, which they did, and opened to the right and left to let them paſs on. When they came up to the Iriſh recruits, Captain Packenham called out to us to throw down our arms and take to our heels, as the only chance we had of ſaving our lives; but General Blake, who commanded us, ſwore he would do no ſuch thing. He ordered Captain Packenham and General Craddock to ſurrender themſelves priſoners immediately.—"Damn me, Jack," ſays the Captain to General Craddock, "we are all in the wrong box—about ſhip, my boy."—

He

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He then called out to General Blake, "Why blaſt your eyes! you ſee ten thouſand men coming down the hill? If you fire a ſhot at us, they'll cut you to atoms." "Surrender yourſelves immediately," cried Blake, "or I'll pepper you, by God!" "You may be damn'd for a raſcal," cried the captain of the Invincible, ſpitting out a large quid of tobacco; "Tom Packenham was never born to be ſhot."—Then clapping ſpurs to their horſes, General Craddock and he rode off as hard as their horſes could gallop; and immediately a volley was ſent after them by our party, which was ſo ill-directed as to do no injury, except giving a ſlight wound to General Craddock in the arm, and wounding his horſe in the neck. The Frenchmen took up their arms again, and the line was hardly formed, when we were charged with ſuch irreſiſtible fury by the Armah militia and ſome other troops; they came within fifty yards of us before they fired a ſhot; they then gave us a volley, ſet up a dreadful ſcreech, and puſhed forward with their bayonets, which entirely broke us. I ſaw hundreds of the Iriſh recruits fall around me. I know not how I eſcaped the firſt onſet. I threw down my muſket, and ran like a doe with about five or ſix hundred of the Iriſh boys (I do not like to call ourſelves rebels, if I could help it). We were ſoon overtaken by Lord Roden's fencible regiment, who cut us to pieces. About 150 of us were taken priſoners by this party, and the reſt were every one left dead on the field; among the laſt was our Colonel Moody, whoſe head was cloven in two. The Frenchmen who remained alive after the battle were about 850 in number; they gave themſelves up priſoners of war, and their lives were ſpared. If they had fought like men, inſtead of throwing down their arms, we ſhould not have been ſo ſhockingly cut up; at leaſt, ſome of us might have eſcaped into the hills: but inſtead of this, they fired

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fired at ſome of our boys who were running away both at Coloony and Ballinamuck.

I am almoſt mad when I reflect on the horrors which this ſhort but dreadful rebellion has brought about. What a melancholy hiſtory have I given of the little party that was drinking at the Harrow in Colooney, thinking no harm at all!—Poor Billy Rourke, who called the French his beſt friends was murdered by one of their officers; Ned Beagam had both his legs ſhattered, and farmer Farrell was killed by a cannon ball at Coloony; Colonel Moody lies dead on the field of battle at Ballinamuck; Larry Dunn's wife and ſiſter have been raviſhed by a French negro, and his teeth knocked down his throat; and he is condemned to die with me as a traitor. But, alas! what a fate is mine! I was happy and contented—I wanted for nothing—I had a wife that I loved, and children that I doated on—and yet the devil tempted me in the ſhape of avarice and ambition! I became a thief and a rebel, and was harneſſed like a beaſt or a ſlave; I have brought ſorrow and perſecution on my wife, poverty and ſhame on my helpleſs children. I ſhall ſuffer death to-morrow, as a ſmall atonement for my guilt, and I hope God will have mercy on my poor ſoul, through the merits of my bleſſed Redeemer. Amen *.

Dr. MORSE's *Expoſure of* FRENCH INTRIGUE *in the* UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

MANY are the proofs which other writers and myſelf have produced of the ſiniſter views of the French, in all their tranſactions with theſe States; but, I think, the matter which Dr. MORSE of Charleſtown brought forward in an Appendix to his Sermon of the 29th of November laſt, is the moſt

* This article is taken from a pamphlet publiſhed in Ireland.

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valuable which has yet appeared on the ſubject. While the Preſident entertained, or ſeemed to entertain, a proper ſenſe of the danger to be apprehended from any further connection with that inſidious and bloody-minded people, I did not think it neceſſary to republiſh the Doctor's excellent Appendix; but now that a new embaſſy is appointed to re-open the road to ruin, I feel it my duty to do what I before looked upon as unneceſſary, and I now proceed to give the whole of the Appendix, as I find it in the Boſton edition of the Sermon.

APPENDIX.

" *Foregn Intrigue*, the bane of our independence, peace, and proſperity, has been operating in this country, in various ways, for more than twenty years paſt, in inſidious efforts to diminiſh our national limits, importance, and reſources, &c."

Sermon, p. 15.

It is the object of this Appendix to ſubſtantiate from facts, the truth of that article in the preceding Diſcourſe, of which the above is a part. In doing this, I conſider myſelf as diſcharging an important duty of my profeſſion. The intereſts of religion and good government, in the preſent ſtate of the world, if we may judge from the condition of France, and her conquered countries, Holland, Geneva, and Switzerland, are inſeparably interwoven, and muſt proſper or decay together. Anarchy is fatal to the religion and morals, as well as to the political health and proſperity of a nation; and ſo, I believe, for the ſame reaſon, is French influence. To develope and oppoſe it, therefore, is to eſpouſe the cauſe of the *Church* as well as of the *State*.

The intrigues, and conſequent influence of France, in this country, I conceive, have corrupted, to an incalculable extent, all the ſources of our true happineſs. Our political diviſions and embarraſſments

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and much of that Atheiſtical infidelity and irreligion, which, during the laſt twenty years, have made ſuch alarming progreſs among us, are probably but the poiſonous fruits of our alliance and an intimate intercourſe with the French nation. Her ſchemes and views concerning us, through all our viciſſitudes, have been uniformly hoſtile to our deareſt rights and intereſts. In proof of this, I appeal to the facts hereafter related.

At a time when our holy Religion and our Government are formidably aſſailed by the ſecret and ſubtle artifices of foreign enemies, it is incumbent on every friend to Chriſtianity, and to his country, to unite in oppoſing their inſidious and wicked deſigns. He is unworthy the name of a chriſtian or a patriot, who, in ſuch a criſis as the preſent, is ſilent or inactive. Surely the Miniſters of Religion ought not to be conſidered as deviating from the duties of their profeſſion, while they unveil thoſe political intrigues, which, in their progreſs and operation, are undermining the foundations, and blaſting the fair fruits of that holy Religion which they preach, and which they are under the oath of God to vindicate againſt every ſpecies of attack *.

I confeſs

* As *political* ſermons are much cenſured at the preſent day, by a certain deſcription of people, for reaſons not difficult to divine; and as the foregoing diſcourſe *may* happen to fall into the hands of ſome who may feel diſpoſed to ſay, with an author of brilliant talents, that "politics and the pulpit are terms that have little agreement;" and that no ſound ought to be heard in the church but the healing voice of Chriſtian charity," it may not be amiſs, for the uſe of ſuch perſons, to recite the following complete anſwer to their objection.

"The whole force of this objection ſeems to reſt on the term *politics* being confined, in its ſenſe, to the wrangling debates of modern aſſemblies; debates, which far too often turn entirely on the narrow, ſelfiſh, and ſervile views of party. The term has been, and in diſcourſes from the pulpit ought to be, uſed in a much more extended and more dignified ſenſe; as comprehending all that

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I confeſs that I have been one of the many thouſands of my countrymen, who have felt an honeſt eſteem for, and a ſincere gratitude to France, for the aid ſhe afforded us during our war with Great Britain, and who unfeignedly rejoiced with her at the commencement of her revolution, in the proſpect of her enjoying the ſweets of freedom, and the bleſſings of an equal government. But I am not aſhamed now to acknowledge, (and thouſands have done the ſame) that this eſteem, gratitude, and joy, were the offspring of *ignorance*. A developement of the motives and deſigns of France, in reſpect to her alliance and intercourſe

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that long liſt of duties which every man owes to ſociety in his public capacity. Every man is at leaſt as much concerned to be a good ſubject, as he is to be a good neighbour; and ſo far is a preacher from being chargeable with being guilty of a confuſion of duties, or of aſſuming a character which does not belong to him, that he acts ſtrictly within the line of his profeſſion, when he explains as well as he is able, and enforces on the people committed to his care, their *public* as well as their private duties. Such *politics* are literally *the healing voice of Chriſtian charity*."

BOUCHER'S DISCOURSES.

In December, 1775, the Provincial Congreſs of Maſſachuſetts reſolved, that the following letter be addreſſed to the ſeveral Miniſters of the Goſpel within this province:

"REVEREND SIR,

"We cannot but acknowledge the goodneſs of Heaven, in conſtantly ſupplying us with Miniſters of the Goſpel, whoſe concern has been the temporal and ſpiritual happineſs of this people. In a day like this, when all the friends to civil and religious liberty are exerting themſelves to deliver this country from its preſent calamities, we cannot but place great hopes in an order of men who have ever diſtinguiſhed themſelves in their country's cauſe; and do therefore *recommend* to the Miniſters of the Goſpel, in the ſeveral towns and other places in this colony, that they aſſiſt us in avoiding that dreadful ſlavery with which we are now threatened."

The reader, after being told, that the moſt violent oppoſers of political diſcourſes *now*, were among the moſt zealous advocates for them in 1775, and ſome of them members of the Congreſs, who paſſed the above reſolution, is left to make his own reflections.

with

with us, and the real nature and object of her revolution, has produced an intire change in my own feelings and opinions. I can no longer conſider her Government, at any period, either under the monarchy or the republic, as having been truly friendly to the intereſts of the United States; nor can I believe that the liberty and happineſs of Frenchmen, much leſs thoſe of other nations, were the real objects of a majority of the authors and promoters of her revolution. The *former* is to be proved in the ſequel; the *latter* is too obvious to require proof. Judging from the fruits of the French revolution, it muſt have had an *impure* origin *. Sincere intentions in its authors, generally (that ſome of them might have had pure views, I do not deny) to ameliorate the condition of the French nation, and their neighbours, could not have plunged them into ſuch extreme wretchedneſs. Had they really aimed at giving liberty to the world, they would not have become literally the deſtroyer of nations, and cruelly rivetted the chains of ſlavery on the millions they have conquered.

* See Robiſon's Proofs of a Conſpiracy, p. 263, to the end* Barruel's Memoirs of Jacobiniſm, vol. iv. and alſo the "Coreſpondence of the Revolutionary Society in London, with the National Aſſembly, and with various other Societies in France and England," in the years 1789 to 1792, which clearly diſcovers that the early views of the *revolutioniſts* was much more *extenſive* than was at that period generally believed. "Your principles and ours (ſay the Revolution Society at Breſt, to their Engliſh correſpondents, as early as 1791) propagate themſelves. This ſacred fire, in ſpite of the obſtacles oppoſed to it, *ſilently* ſpreads, and will produce, from pole to pole, *an exploſion*, as terrible to tyrants as fatal to them." "If we may truſt to our *preſentiments* and *wiſhes*, *all Europe will ſoon become brethren.*" [Correſpondence at the cloſe.] According to the "preſentiments" of this ſociety, France has ſince *fraternized* with Holland, Geneva, Italy, and Switzerland, and appear deſirous of making all the reſt of mankind ſuch kind of *brothers*. However *plauſible* the *profeſſions* of the revolutioniſts were at firſt, their *real* views have been ſufficiently well explained in their ſubſequent *conduct*.

On

The documents already publiſhed by our own and the French government, one would think ſufficient to convince all who had read them with an unprejudiced mind, that the policy of France, from the beginning of our connexion with her, has been favourable neither to our reſpectability nor our proſperity. But as we have yet among us ſome unbelievers in French intrigue and duplicity; ſome who will not renounce their obligations to gratitude for her aſſiſtance; who yet cheriſh an affection which has hitherto ſerved France as a conductor of poiſons baneful to our political conſtitution, to our religion and morals, I think it my duty to lay before the public ſome important documents not generally known, and which, I conceive, will juſtify the opinions I have here expreſſed. Theſe documents, (and I here give but *a part* of what are in my poſſeſſion) have rendered neceſſary many explanatory notes and remarks, and ſuggeſted others, by way of inference, which I could not forbear introducing: all together they have ſwelled this Appendix to a ſize much beyond my original intention. The reader, however, who has patience attentively to peruſe the whole, I hope, will have no reaſon to regret that his time has been miſpent.

Concerning the papers which follow, it is proper to obſerve, that they may be relied on as authentic, having been copied from the *originals*,

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On the 15th of December, 1793, the reporter of the *diplomatic* Committee of the National Convention of France thus addreſſes the Convention.

"The Committees of Finance and War aſk in the beginning, What is the *object* of the *war* which we have taken in hand? Without all doubt, the object is *the* ANNIHILATION OF ALL PRIVILEGES, *war with* the *palaces and peace with the cottages.* Theſe are the principles on which *your declaration of war is founded.*" "We muſt declare ourſelves for a revolutionary power in all the countries into which we enter. (Loud applauſes.) Nor need we put on the cloak of *humanity.* We diſdain ſuch *little arts.*" "Aboliſh from among you the nobles, and every *eccleſiaſtical* and military incorporation. They are incompatible with equality."

partly

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partly with my own hand, and the remainder by a Member of Congreſs in 1783.

A document which very clearly unveils the views of France reſpecting America, and which will ſerve as a clue to a full underſtanding of the communications of our Commiſſioners for Peace, (which will be brought into view in their proper place) is Mr. *Marbois'** *confidential* letter to the Count de *Vergennes*, the French Miniſter of Foreign Affairs. This letter fell into the hands of our Commiſſioners at Paris, was by them tranſlated, and forwarded to Congreſs, and is taken from a copy in the hand writing of one of the Commiſſioners.

[Tranſlation. No. 225.]

"*Philadelphia, 13th March*, 1782.

"SIR,

"South Carolina again enjoys the benefit of a Legiſlative body. * * * It met in January at Jackſonburgh. * * * * * * Mr. Rutledge, who was then Governor, opened the meeting with a ſpeech greatly applauded, wherein he repreſents, in their full extent, *the important ſervices rendered by the King* [of France] *to the United States, expreſſing their juſt acknowledgments for the ſame. This ſentiment prevails much*, Sir; the different States are eager to declare it in their public acts; and the principal Members of Government, and the writers employed by them, would *forfeit their popularity, were they to admit any equivocal remarks reſpecting the alliance.* General Greene affirms, that in no one State is attachment to independency carried to a higher pitch, but that this affection is yet exceeded by the *hatred borne to England.*

* * * * * * * * *

"Mr. Matthews, a Delegate lately arrived in Carolina from Congreſs, has, it is ſaid, been choſen Governor in the room of Mr. Rutledge. He has communicated to perſons of the moſt influence in his State, the *ultimatum* of the month of ——— laſt, who approved of the clauſes in general, and particularly *that one which leaves the King maſter of the terms of the treaty of peace or truce*, excepting independence and treaties of alliance. A Delegate from South-Carolina told me, that this ultimatum was equally well known by perſons of note in his State, and that it had given intire

* Mr. Marbois, at the time he wrote this letter, was either Secretary to the French Miniſter in the United States, or Charge of Affairs, in his abſence.

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tire ſatisfaction there. It is the ſame with regard to ſeveral other States; and I believe I may aſſure you, upon the teſtimony of ſeveral Delegates, that this meaſure is approved by a *great majority*.

[What this *ultimatum* was, which was thus *ſecretly* handed about among the leading men in the ſeveral States, does not appear. The tenor of it may be inferred, however, from a principal clauſe which is here mentioned; which was, that the United States ſhould *leave the King of France maſter of the terms of peace or truce*, with two exceptions only. This intrigue was in operation during the winter of 1781 and 1782, and the fruit of it was the inſtructions from Congreſs to our Commiſſioners for peace at Paris. What theſe inſtructions were, and the diſgraceful manner in which they were obtained, will be more fully ſeen preſently.]

"BUT Mr. Samuel Adams is uſing all his endeavours to raiſe, in the State of Maſſachuſetts, a ſtrong oppoſition to peace, if the Eaſtern States are not thereby admitted to the fiſheries; and in particular to that of Newfoundland. Mr. Adams delights in trouble and difficulty, and prides himſelf in forming an oppoſition againſt the Government whereof he is himſelf Preſident. His aim and intention are, to render the minority of conſequence; and at this very moment, he is attacking the Conſtitution of Maſſachuſetts, although it be in a great meaſure his own work. But he has diſliked it ſince the people have ſhewn their uniform attachment to it. It may be expected that with this diſpoſition no meaſure can meet the approbation of Mr. S. Adams; and if the States ſhould agree relative to the fiſheries, and be certain of partaking them, all his manœuvres and intrigues would be directed towards the conqueſt of Canada and Nova Scotia; but he could not have uſed a fitter engine than the fiſheries for ſtirring up the paſſions of the Eaſtern people, by renewing this queſtion, which had lain dormant during his two years abſence from Boſton. He has raiſed the expectations of the people of Maſſachuſetts to an extraordinary pitch. The public prints hold forth the importance of the fiſheries. The reigning toaſt in the Eaſt is, "May the United States ever maintain their right to the fiſheries." It has been often repeated in the deliberations of the General Court, "No peace without the fiſheries." However clear the principle may be in this matter, it would be uſeleſs, and even dangerous, to *attempt informing the people through the public papers*. But it appears to me poſſible

poſſible to uſe means for preventing the conſequences of ſucceſs to Mr. S. Adams, and *his party*; and I take the liberty of ſubmitting them to your diſcernment and indulgence."

[MR. S. ADAMS, who was at this time Preſident of the Senate of Maſſachuſetts, had lately returned from Congreſs, where he became acquainted with the deſigns and intrigues of the French Miniſter and his agents, to deprive us of the fiſheries. Accordingly, as became a friend to the proſperity of his country, he oppoſed their deſigns with all his influence, and we ſee here the treatment he received from our *good allies*, for his fidelity. Such treatment was not peculiar to Mr. SAMUEL ADAMS; Mr. JOHN ADAMS, Mr. JAY, and indeed every leading character who dared openly to eſpouſe the intereſts of his own country, in oppoſition to the views of France, met with ſimilar treatment. This was the caſe not only in America, but in France. A letter from one of the Commiſſioners of Peace, dated Paris, Nov. 17, 1782; ſays, "The leaſt appearance of an independent ſpirit in any American miniſter, has been uniformly cauſe enough to have his character attacked." The ſame policy has been purſued by France ever ſince. Every independent American who has dared to advocate the intereſts of his own country, againſt her inſidious deſigns upon our proſperity, has been calumniated by her emiſſaries among us.

IT appears that the French agents were formerly in the habit of writing ſpeculations in our public papers, to anſwer their own views. "It would be uſeleſs (ſays M. Marbois), and even dangerous, to attempt informing the people *through the public papers*." Is it raſh to ſuppoſe that many of thoſe virulent and calumnious pieces againſt our government, its officers and meaſures, which have appeared in our oppoſition papers, have been from the pens of the agents and ſpies of France in this country?]

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"ONE of those means would be, for the King to cause it to be intimated to Congress, or the Ministers, "his surprise that the Newfoundland fisheries have been included in the additional instructions; that the United States set forth therein pretensions, without paying regard to the King's rights, and without considering the impossibility they are under of making conquest, and keeping what belongs to Great Britain." His Majesty might at the same time cause *a promise* to be given to Congress, "of his assistance for procuring admission to *the other fisheries*, [What other fisheries?] *declaring, however, that he would not be answerable for the success*, and that he is bound to nothing, as the treaty makes no mention of that article." This declaration being made before the peace, the hopes of the people could not be supported, nor could it one day hereafter be said that we left them in the dark on this point. It were to be wished, indeed, that this declaration could be made whilst New-York, Charleston, and Penobscot are in the enemy's hands. *Our allies will be less* TRACTABLE *than ever upon these points, whenever they recover these important posts.*"

[This paragraph is instead of a volume, to shew the *real* views of France towards this country.]

"THERE are some *judicious** persons, to whom one may speak of giving up the fisheries and the ——— of the west, for the sake of peace; but there are *enthusiasts*,* who fly out at this idea; and their numbers cannot fail of increasing, when, after the English are expelled this continent, the burthen of the war will scarce be felt. It is already observable, that the advocates for peace are of those who live in the country. The inhabitants of towns, whom commerce enriches; mechanics, who receive a higher pay than before the war, and five or six times more than in Europe, do not wish for it. *But it is a happy circumstance, that this division be nearly equal in Congress, and among the States, since* OUR INFLUENCE *can incline the beam either for peace or war, which ever we may choose.*"

[Who, after reading this, will deny that *French influence*, to a very alarming extent, once existed in this country, and even in our legislature. It would be a difficult task to prove, that it has, at any period since, ceased to exist among us, and

* The *French* terms, "*judicious* persons," and "*enthusiasts*," rendered according to the *American* standard, mean, *Dupes to French intrigue*, and the *independent friends* of America who oppose it. Accordingly, this passage should be read thus: "There are some *dupes* to our intrigues, to whom one may speak, &c. But there are other *independent friends* of their country in opposition to us, who fly out," &c.

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that to a degree extremely injurious to our tranquillity.]

"ANOTHER means of preſerving to France ſo important a branch of her commerce and navigation, is that propoſed to you, Sir, by Mr. ———, viz. the conqueſt of Cape-Breton. It ſeems to me, as it does to that miniſter, the only ſure means of containing within bounds, when peace is made, thoſe ſwarms of ſmugglers, who, without regard to treaties, will turn all their activity, daring ſpirit and means towards the fiſheries; whoſe undertakings Congreſs will not, perhaps, have the power or the will to repreſs. If it be apprehended that the peace, which is to put an end to the preſent war, will prove diſagreeable to any of the United States, there appears to me a certain method of *guarding againſt the effects of this diſcontent*, of preventing the declarations of ſome States, and other reſources which *turbulent minds* might employ for availing themſelves of the preſent juncture. This would be for his Majeſty to cauſe a memorial to be delivered to Congreſs, wherein ſhould be ſtated, the uſe made by Miniſters, of the powers entruſted to them, by that Aſſembly; and the impediment which may have ſtood in the way of fuller ſatisfaction on every point. This ſtep would certainly be pleaſing to Congreſs; and ſhould it become neceſſary to inform the people of this memorial, it could eaſily be done. They would be *flattered* by it, and it might probably beget the voice and concurrence of the public. I ſubmit theſe thoughts to you early; and though peace appears yet to be diſtant, Sir, by reaſon of the delays and difficulties attending the communications, that period will be *a criſis*, when the PARTISANS *of France and England* will openly appear; and when that power will employ every means to *diminiſh our influence* and re-eſtabliſh her own. *It is true, the* INDEPENDENT *party will always ſtand in great want of our ſupport. The fears and jealouſies which a remembrance of the former Government will always produce, muſt operate as the ſafeguard to our Alliance, and as a ſecurity for the attachment of the Americans to us.* But it is beſt to be prepared for any diſcontent, although it ſhould be but temporary."

[Here is a moſt important *text*, on which the meaſures and intrigues of France, in reference to this country ſince the peace of 1783, may be conſidered as the *comment*. "The *independent* party, (meaning, no doubt, "the *Partiſans* of France," of whom he had juſt ſpoken,) will *always* ſtand in great need of our ſupport." With what propriety he could call this party *independent*, when at the ſame time he ſays they will *always need ſupport*,

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port, is difficult to conceive; no epithet was ever more improperly applied, except perhaps in the inſtance of a newſpaper, which has long been devoted to the intereſts of France, ſtyled, "The *INDEPENDENT Chronicle*." The meaning of this word in both caſes ſeems to be exactly ſynonymous.

We have much evidence to believe, that France, "*always faithful to her friends*," has uniformly afforded her "*independent partiſans*," in this country, a "*generous* ſupport." It is not for us to ſay in what this "ſupport" conſiſted, or in what way communicated.—This we know, however, that "*Genet* brought with him a *million dollars*, in *roleaus* of gold, convenient for diſtribution; and that he drew the laſt from the depoſitary the day his ſucceſſor arrived at the ſeat of Government;" which accounts for Fauchet's complaint of the want of "ſome thouſands of dollars," for his friend *Randolph*, at this time the head of the "*independent* party," and with which "the Republic (of France) could have decided on civil war or peace."

There is another branch to this *text* which deſerves notice, viz. "The *fears* and *jealouſies* which a remembrance of the former Government will always produce, muſt operate as the *ſafeguard* to our alliance, and as a *ſecurity* for the attachment of the Americans to us." In plain language thus: "In order to fix and preſerve our controul over the Americans, we muſt, by all means, cheriſh their *hatred* and *jealouſies* towards Great Britain." This *unchriſtian* policy has been ſteadily purſued, and with very conſiderable ſucceſs, ever ſince the peace, but particularly ſince the commencement of the European war; witneſs the cloſe of Adet's *famous* note of Nov. 5, 1796. Witneſs all the oppoſition papers in the United States, every *real* friend to his country, who has oppoſed their degrading

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views, has been calumniated as devoted to the intereſts of *Britain*, and have been collectively called, with ADAMS and WASHINGTON at their head, a "Britiſh faction."]

"It is remarked by ſome, that as England has other fiſheries beſides Newfoundland, ſhe may, perhaps, endeavour that the Americans ſhould partake in that of the Grand Bank, in order to conciliate their affections, or procure them ſome compenſation, or create a ſubject of jealouſy between them and us. But it does not ſeem likely that ſhe will act ſo contrary to her true intereſt; and were ſhe to do ſo, it will be for the better to have declared, at an early period, to the Americans, that their pretenſion is not founded, and that his Majeſty does not ſupport it.

"I am, &c.

"BARBE DE MARBOIS."

I now proceed to detail ſome extracts from the original communications of our Commiſſioners for negociating a peace * at Paris, in 1782, with connecting and explanatory remarks.

"*Paris, Nov.* 18, 1782.

"The inſtructions from Congreſs †, which direct us to pay ſo ſtrict an attention to the French Miniſtry, and to follow their advice, are conceived in terms ſo univerſal and unlimited as to give a great deal of anxiety to my mind. There is no man more impreſſed with the obligation of obedience to inſtructions; but in ordinary caſes, the principal is ſo near the deputy, as to be able to

* Theſe Commiſſioners were, the Honourable JOHN ADAMS, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, JOHN JAY, and HENRY LAURENS.

† What theſe embarraſſing inſtructions were, the reader, no doubt, will wiſh to know, and I will gratify him immediately. They were expreſſed in the following language. "You are at liberty to ſecure the intereſt of the United States, in ſuch manner as circumſtances may direct, and as the ſtate of the belligerent, and the diſpoſition of the mediating powers may require. For this purpoſe, you are to make the moſt candid and confidential communications, upon *all ſubjects*, to the *Miniſters* of our moſt gracious ally, the King of France; to undertake *nothing* in the courſe of the negotiations for peace or truce, *without their knowledge and concurrence*; and *ultimately to govern yourſelves by their advice and opinion*; endeavouring, in your whole conduct, to make them ſenſible how much we rely upon his Majeſty's influence for effectual ſupport in every thing that may be neceſſary to the preſent ſecurity and future proſperity of the United States of America." How theſe humiliating and diſgraceful inſtructions were obtained, remains to be told.

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to attend to the whole progreſs of the buſineſs. and to be informed of every new fact, and every ſudden thought.

"Ambaſſadors in Europe can ſend expreſſes to their courts, and give and receive intelligence from them with the utmoſt certainty. In ſuch caſes there is no room for miſtakes, miſunderſtanding, or ſurpriſe. But in our caſe it is very different. We are at an immenſe diſtance; diſpatches are liable to foul play, and veſſels are ſubject to accident; new ſcenes open; the time preſſes; various nations are in ſuſpenſe, and neceſſity forces us to act.

"What can we do if a French Miniſter adviſes us to cede to Spain the whole river Miſſiſippi, and five hundred miles of territory to the eaſtward of it, are we bound by our inſtructions to put our ſignature to the ceſſion, when the Engliſh themſelves are willing we ſhould extend to the river, and enjoy our natural right to its navigation? If we ſhould be counſelled to relinquiſh our right to the fiſhery on the Grand Bank of Newfoundland, when the Britiſh Miniſtry are ready, by treaty, to acknowledge our right to it, are we obliged to relinquiſh it? If we are adviſed to reſtore and compenſate the Tories, are we to comply? If we know, or have reaſon to believe, that things which will have weight upon the minds of the Britiſh Miniſtry againſt us, upon ſome points, will be communicated to them in ſome way or other, ſecret or open, if we communicate them to this court, are we bound to do it? I cannot think that a conſtruction, ſo literal and ſevere, was ever intended to be put upon them; and therefore I ſee no way of doing my duty to Congreſs, but to interpret the inſtructions as we do general precepts and maxims, by ſuch reſtrictions and limitations as reaſon, neceſſity, and the nature of things demand.

"It may ſometimes be known to a deputy, that an inſtruction from his principal was given upon falſe information; what is he to do? When he knows that if the truth had been known, his principal would have given a direct contrary advice, is he to follow that which iſſued from miſtake? When he knows, or has only good ground to believe, that if his principal was upon the ſpot, and fully informed of the preſent ſtate of facts, he would give contrary directions, is he bound by ſuch as were given before?

"It cannot be denied, that inſtructions are binding; that it is a duty to obey them, and that a departure from them cannot be juſtified; but it cannot be denied, I think, on the other hand, that in our peculiar ſituation, caſes may happen, in which it may become our duty to depend upon being excuſed, or if you will, pardoned, for preſuming that if Congreſs were upon the ſpot, they would judge as we do.

"I preſume not to dictate; but I may venture to give my opinion, as I do freely, with much real concern for the public, that it would be much better if every inſtruction in being were totally repealed, which enjoins upon any American Miniſter to follow the advice, or aſk the advice, or even to communicate with any French or other Miniſter in Europe; it is an inextricable em-

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barraſſment every where. Advice would not be more ſeldom aſked, nor communication leſs frequent; it would be more freely given. A communication of information, or a requeſt of counſel, would then be received as a compliment, and a mark of reſpect; it is now conſidered as a duty and a right. Your Miniſters would have more weight, and be more reſpected through the world.

"Congreſs cannot do too much to give weight to their Miniſters, for they may depend upon it, *great and unjuſtifiable means are uſed to prevent them from acquiring reputation, and even to prevent an idea taking root, that any thing has been, or can be done by them.* And there is nothing that humbles and depreſſes, nothing that ſhackles and confines; in ſhort, nothing that renders totally uſeleſs your Miniſters in Europe, ſo much as theſe poſitive inſtructions to conſult and communicate with French Miniſters on all occaſions, and to follow their advice. And I really think it would be better to conſtitute the Count de Vergennes our ſole Miniſter, and give him full powers to treat and make peace with all Europe, than to continue any of us under the inſtructions in being, if they are to be underſtood in the unlimited ſenſe which ſome perſons contend for. I hope nothing indecent has eſcaped me upon this occaſion. If any expreſſions appear too ſtrong, the great importance of the ſubject, and the deep impreſſion it has made on my mind and heart, muſt be my apology.

*____*____*."

"*Paris, Nov.* 1782.

——"When I ſpeak of this [French] court, I know not that any other Miniſter is included than that of Foreign Affairs. *A whole ſyſtem of policy is now as glaring as the day, which perhaps Congreſs and the people of America have little ſuſpicion of.* The evidence now reſults from a large view of all our European negociations. The ſame principle and the ſame ſyſtem have been uniformly purſued from the beginning of my knowledge in Europe in April, 1778, to this hour. In ſubſtance it has been this: *In aſſiſtance afforded us in naval force and in money, to keep us from ſuccumbing, and nothing more: To prevent us from yielding ourſelves wholly of our enemies, and from growing rich and powerful: To prevent us from obtaining acknowledgments of our independence by other foreign powers, and from acquiring conſideration in Europe, or any advantage in the peace but what is expreſsly ſtipulated in the treaties: To deprive us of the Grand Fiſhery, the Miſſiſippi river, the Weſtern lands, and to ſaddle us with the Tories.*"

In confirmation of this, the writer proceeds to declare, that, from all he could collect from Mr. *Dana*'s negociations in Ruſſia, Mr. *Adams*'s in Holland, and Mr. *Jay*'s in Spain, it was very evident, that the *Marquis de Verac*, the *Count de Montmorin*, and

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and the *Duke de la Vauquion*, the French Miniſters at theſe ſeveral courts, had all been governed by the ſame inſtructions, viz. inſtead of *favouring*, to *prevent*, if poſſible, the ſucceſs of our Miniſters in getting our independence acknowledged.

From the ſame letter it further appears that, in Holland, the *Duke de la Vauquion* did all in his power to prevent the ſucceſs of our Miniſter at that Court; and it was the opinion of our Miniſter, that the Duke had inſtructions from the French Miniſter ſo to do. But when the Duke was *firmly* told, that no advice of his, or the Count de Vergennes, nor even a requiſition from the King, ſhould reſtrain him, and was convinced that our Miniſter would ſucceed, the Duke, in the true ſtyle of French policy, fell in with him, in order to give the air of *French influence* to meaſures, which French influence never could have accompliſhed; and which he thought would have been carried even if he had *oppoſed* it. The letter proceeds;

"Theſe facts may alarm Congreſs more than they ought. There is nothing to fear but the want of *firmneſs* in Congreſs. *French policy is ſo ſubtle, ſo penetrating, and encroaching a thing, that the only way to oppoſe it is to be ſteady, patient, and determined.* Poland and Sweden, as well as Corſica and Geneva, exhibit *horrid effects of this policy*, BECAUSE IT WAS YIELDED TO. Whereas Switzerland, who never was *afraid* of France, and were always *firm*, has found her an excellent ally for 150 years paſt*.

"If we are ſteadily ſupported by Congreſs, we ſhall go clearly to windward of them; but if Congreſs wavers, and gives way, the

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* Mark this paſſage, reader, and bear it in mind, that it was written at *Paris*, in 1782, by a gentleman of great diſcernment and integrity. Experience has verified his deſcription of *French intrigue*. What a long catalogue might our author now add to the liſt of its *victims*. Alas! poor deluded *Switzerland* no longer forms the noble exception here mentioned. This "*ſubtle, penetrating, and encroaching French policy*," has been weakly "*yielded to*" by the brave Swiſs, and their *ruin* is the conſequence. Heaven be praiſed, for an ADAMS, who knew the ſubtle nature of this deteſtable policy, and has hitherto reſiſted it!

United

United States will receive a blow that they will not recover in fifty years."

* * * * * *

"We have nothing to fear from this [French] Court, but in the particulars above-mentioned. The *alliance* is too neceſſary to them; we are too eſſential to them, for them to violate the treaties, or *finally to diſguſt and alienate us*. But they have not known, any more than England, the *men with whom they have to do*.

"When we ſee *the French intriguing with the Engliſh againſt us*, we have no way to oppoſe it, but by reaſoning with the Engliſh, to ſhew that they are intended to be the dupes.

*____*____*.

The reader is requeſted to bear in mind, that theſe letters were written in 1782, at a time when that immenſe *debt of gratitude* to France was accumulating, which ſhe, and her partiſans here, have ſince ſo often thrown in our teeth, and which they would wiſh us to pay at no leſs a price than our *ſovereignty* and *independence*. Is it poſſible that ſuch *perfidiouſneſs* ſhould have been rewarded with the *eſteem* and *gratitude* of Americans! What ſhameleſs effrontery muſt it have required in the Miniſters of France, *who knew all theſe things*, to ſtyle themſelves, and their nation, our "*dear* friends and allies;" to aſſume to themſelves the merit of giving us *independence!!* But the one half has not yet been told.

The following extracts from, and ſummaries of, the original correſpondence of our Commiſſioners, in the years 1782 and 1783, and Monſ. Gerard's private memorials to Congreſs, with the accompanying remarks, were made at Philadelphia, by a Member of Congreſs, a man of much penetration and reſpectability, in 1783, while the points with France, and the general treaty of peace, were in diſcuſſion, and may be depended on as giving a correct view of theſe ſubjects.

The Commiſſioners, in their *joint* letter, ſtating the progreſs of the negociations for peace, and incloſing the preliminary articles, ſay, "As we had *reaſon* to imagine that *the articles reſpecting the boundaries, the refugees, and the fiſhery, did not correſpond with the feelings of this court* (meaning France) we did not communicate the prelimina-

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ries to the Miniſter until after they were ſigned; and not even then, the ſeparate article. We hope that theſe conſiderations will excuſe our having ſo far departed from the ſpirit of our inſtructions."

One of the Commiſſioners, in his letters, ſays, that the Courts of France and Spain* were oppoſed to us, as to the fiſhery, the boundaries, the Miſſiſippi, and the refugees, and uſed every means in their power to deprive us of the three former, and to ſaddle us with the latter; that the Count de Vergennes, and his confidential Secretary, M. Raneval, whom he often employed to ſpeak his ſentiments, and carry his points, had repeatedly declared, that they thought the claims of the Britiſh, for compenſation to the Tories, were *juſt* and *politic*; that every precedent was in their favour; that it would be diſgraceful in Britain to relinquiſh thoſe claims; and, that we ought to accede to them.

Another Commiſſioner, in his letters, ſays, that the Count de Vergennes and Raneval inſiſted very ſtrongly, that he ſhould treat with Mr. Oſwald under his firſt commiſſion, alledging, that our independence might be ſecured by treaty; that Dr. F——n was of the ſame opinion with the Count and his Secretary, and wanted to begin the negociations with Mr. Oſwald under the firſt commiſſion; but that he (the Commiſſioner writing) abſolutely refuſed to do it; that the Count de Vergennes and Raneval denied our having any right to ſuch extent of territory as we had claimed, and alſo to the fiſhery on the Banks, and adviſed him by no means to inſiſt on ſuch claims; alledging, that it was impoſſible for Britain to accede to them; that they inſiſted upon his treating with the Count de Aranda (the Spaniſh Miniſter) without ſeeing his commiſſion from the Court of Spain, or even aſking for it, alledging, that he had no right to do this, as Spain had not acknowledged our independence, though Spain was then deſirous of treating with him under his commiſſion from the United States, as Independent States, which commiſſion the Count de Aranda had ſeen, but refuſed to ſhew his commiſſion, or to ſay whether he had any or not; that the Count de Vergennes and Raneval ſupported the *Spaniſh* claim, in *oppoſition to ours*, to a great part of the weſtern and ſouthern territory, and denied our having a right to the uſe of the Miſſiſippi, inſiſting upon it that we ought to give up thoſe claims, or that we muſt not expect a treaty with Spain, as ſhe certainly could not recede; that *Raneval* had even gone ſo far as to preſent him with a *written memorial*†, ſtating the Spaniſh right to that territory, and the excluſive navigation of the Miſſiſippi, and denying our having any right to either; that, about the ſame time, Mr. Marbois's letter (already recited) made its appearance,

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* Spain, it appears, was intrigued into this oppoſition by the Court of France.

† This Memorial was ſent to Congreſs by one of our Commiſſioners.

holding

holding up the ſame ideas as Count de Vergennes and Raneval had been urging, as to our claims to territory, the fiſheries, &c. that Count de Vergennes communicated to Mr. Fitzherbert, the Britiſh Miniſter to treat with France on peace, the views of the Courts of France and Spain, as to our claims, which Mr. Fitzherbert ſent to Lord Shelburne, as evidence that there was no neceſſity for the Britiſh Court to accede to our claims, they not being ſupported by thoſe powers; this prevented their ſending Mr. Oſwald a new commiſſion to treat with Mr. Jay*. That, ſoon after this, the Count de Vergennes and Count de Aranda, fearing that Mr. Oſwald might, by his importunity, prevail on Lord Shelburne to give him a new commiſſion, and inſtructions to cloſe with Mr. Jay's propoſitions, ſent M. Raneval over to London, to ſtate to the Britiſh Miniſtry the ſituation of things, and prevent Mr. Oſwald ſucceeding in his application. Mr. Jay and Mr. Oſwald were ſoon acquainted with the miſſion of M. Raneval, and the object of it; they in conſequence directly ſent off Mr. Vaughan, to ſtate to Lord Shelburne the buſineſs of M. Raneval, and the views with which he was ſent; to ſhew him (Lord Shelburne) that France and Spain wiſhed to prevent Britain and America agreeing on terms, they being *deſirous* of continuing the war; and knowing that America was not bound to continue it on her part, after Britain ſhould have acknowledged her independence; to convince him that it was the intereſt of Great Britain to make peace with America on the terms propoſed by Mr. Jay; that the views of France were directly oppoſed to the intereſts both of America and Britain; and that if any attention was paid to the repreſentations of Raneval, France and Spain would probably eſtabliſh their own intereſt, to the ruin both of Britain and America. Mr. Vaughan was well inſtructed in every point by Mr. Oſwald and Mr. Jay; his information ſatisfied Lord Shelburne, and a new commiſſion, with proper inſtructions, were ſent to Mr. Oſwald.

In another letter, this ſame Commiſſioner ſays, that France intended, if poſſible, to continue the war, and to keep America involved in it, with a view to reduce and impoveriſh both Britain and America, as much as poſſible: that if this could not be effected, then to place America, by the peace, in a ſituation as dependent upon her as ſhe could: that, in order to this, ſhe intended to deprive us of the Bank-fiſhery; to ſtraiten and narrow our limits; to ſaddle us with the refugees; to place the Spaniſh cloſe to our borders on one ſide, and the Britiſh on the other. Thus circumſtanced, France could eaſily foment quarrels between America and Great Britain or

* Mr. Jay was, at this time, conſidered by the writer, as the only *American* Commiſſioner for peace, then at Paris; as Mr. Adams had not yet arrived from Holland, and Dr. Franklin was ſo much in the French intereſt, that he was not conſulted on thoſe points, which it was neceſſary to conceal from Count de Vergennes.

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Spain. This would often render their aid neceſſary to America; and by habituating her to look up to France for ſupport and protection, and being able, in every inſtance, to ſtipulate her own terms for the ſupport ſhe might give, the dependence of America upon France would have been certain, or at leaſt probable.

The compenſation to the Tories, and their admiſſion into America, were points which France urged with great zeal and addreſs; for as the Tories were high Royaliſts, ſhe expected to attach them to her intereſt, and play them off againſt the independent party, agreeably to M. Marbois's ideas: and if, by her influence, the property of the Tories had been by treaty to be reſtored, this would have given her great weight in their minds, and made them devoted to her views.

From theſe letrers it further appears, that if America relied on the love of the Ftench for liberty and republicaniſm, or their attachment to America, or their diſintereſted diſpoſition to promote her welfare, ſhe would entirely lean on a broken reed, that would aſſuredly, one day or other, pierce her ſide; witneſs Geneva, Corſica, &c. that Dr. F——n was with the French generally in opinion, and frequently urged the inſtructions to be governed by the advice of that Court in their negociations, alledging, that it was in conſequence their duty to follow ſuch advice.

When Mr. J. ſaw clearly the views of the French Court as to America, he determined to keep the negociations a ſecret, though contrary to inſtructions, elſe the intereſts of America would, in his opinion, have been ruined.

It appears from one of the Commiſſioners' letters, that Mr. Raneval, on his return from England, was much embarraſſed when he found that it had been diſcovered where he had been; for it was given out that he was gone into the country for a few days; and that he pretended after he ſaw our commiſſioners were acquainted with his having been there, that he went on purpoſe to gain for America thoſe very points which he and his principal, Count de Vergennes, had inſiſted upon being given up, as being without any juſt ground, and unreaſonable for America to claim. He further pretended, that the new commiſſion and inſtructions to Mr. Oſwald were procured by *his ſolicitations* in favour of America!!!

One of the Commiſſioners, in a letter, ſays, "Mr. Fitzherbert (the Britiſh Miniſter) told me, that Count de Vergennes had fifty times reproached him for ceding the fiſheries, and ſaid it was ruining both the Britiſh and French commerce. Had we not ſigned the treaty before France, and communicated to the Miniſter that we were ready, he would have ſaid that you muſt not ſign till we ſign. This would have been a continuance of the war for another year at leaſt. The peace depended on a day. Parliament had been waiting long; and, once prorogued, the Miniſter was ſo preſſed, he could not have met Parliament, and have kept his place, without an agreement upon terms, at leaſt, with America. If we had not ſigned, the Mi-

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niſtry would have been changed, and the coalition come in; and the whole world knows the Coalition would not have made peace on the preſent ſterms, and of courſe not at all this year. *The iron was ſtruck in the few critical moments when it was of a proper heat.*

A letter from one of the Commiſſioners to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, of July 9, 1783, ſays, "The Duke de la Vauquion and Mr. Brontzen together, laſt Saturday, ſaid, "if you had not ſigned when you did, we ſhould not have ſigned when we did." If they had not ſigned when they did, D'Eſtaing would have ſailed from Cadiz, and nobody in that caſe would have ſigned to this day. It is not poſſible for men to be in more diſagreeable circumſtances than we were. We are none of us of principles or diſpoſitions to take pleaſure in going againſt your ſentiments, Sir, much leſs thoſe of Congreſs; but, in this caſe, if we had not done it, our country would have loſt advantages beyond compenſation." *July* 10.

"There is another point now in agitation, in which the French will never give us one good word: on the contrary, they will ſay every thing they can to perſuade the Engliſh to deprive us of the trade of their Weſt-India iſlands. They have, already, by their emiſſaries, been the chief cauſe of the change of ſentiments in London on this head againſt us. *In general, they ſee with pain every appearance of returning real and cordial friendſhip, ſuch as may be permanent between us and Great-Britain. On the contrary, they ſee with pleaſure every ſeed of contention between us.* The Tories are an excellent engine of miſchief between us and them, and therefore very precious. Excluſion from the Weſt-India iſlands will be alſo another. I hold it to be the indiſpenſable duty of my ſtation not to conceal from Congreſs theſe truths. *Do not let us be dupes under the idea of being grateful.* Innumerable anecdotes happen daily to ſhew that theſe ſentiments are general. If therefore we have it in contemplation to avoid a future war with the Engliſh, do not let us have too much confidence in the French, that they will favour us in this view."

From another letter:

"To talk of confidence in a general ſtyle, in the French Court, is to uſe a general language, which may mean almoſt any thing, or almoſt nothing. To a certain degree, and as far as the treaties and engagements extend, I have as much confidence in the French Court as Congreſs has or even as you, Sir, appear to have. But if by confidence in that Court is meant, an opinion that they would advocate our right to the fiſhery, territory, Miſſiſippi, or the Refugees, I own I have no ſuch confidence, nor never had. I muſt, after what I have ſeen and heard, have been an idiot to have entertained the opinion!"

From another letter:

"Nothing more is to be expected by the definitive treaty. We can get no farther ceſſions from the Britiſh, without paying more for it than you will get by it. Should the other powers be ready to ſign before

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before us, and it is probable they will be, we must adopt the provisional treaty as a definitive one."

"The United States must bear up the confederation. If they do not preserve and strengthen the union, we shall be the sport of the European powers. Congress, or some body, must have the power to regulate trade, and of forming a navigation act, or foreigners will run away with our carring trade, and we shall be a set of cultivators for their benefit."

The commissioners in one of their joint letters, say, "We believe the French Minister *so far our friend as corresponds with his system for promoting the interest and glory of France.* God forbid we should ever sacrifice our faith, &c. and may he forbid also, that we should ever be unmindful of our own dignity. *Since we have assumed a place in the political system, let us move like a* PRIMARY, *and not a* SECONDARY *planet.*"

Dr. Franklin, in one of his letters, says, "I do not see that the French have any reason to complain of our keeping the treaty, and the separate article, from them. Nothing was stipulated to their prejudice; and some of the stipulations were to have force, but by a subsequent act of their own. The nomination of five persons as negociators, seems to mark that Congress had some dependence on our joint judgment, since one alone could have made a treaty by the direction of the French Ministry, as well as twenty."

In a letter of December 14, Dr. F. says, "We know this Court and Spain to be against our claims to the western territory; and having no reason to think that lines [boundaries] favourable could ever have been obtained, we finally agreed to those described in this article."

Here follow the observations of the Member of Congress before mentioned, made at Philadelphia while the points were in discussion. I relate them in his own words and order. Made at the time they were, and under circumstances so advantageous for knowing the truth, and with such authentic and full evidence to support them, his observations cannot fail to have great weight with all candid readers.

Mos. Chevalier de Luzerne memorialized Congress last year (1782) in favour of the Tories, and endeavoured to prepare Congress for the articles which they expected to be able to insert in the treaty of peace, for making compensation to, and admitting them into, our country and councils. The conduct of the Chevalier, of Marbois, and the principal French characters in America, was in conformity to this plan, endeavouring to cultivate an acquaintance and friendship

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ſhip between them and the Tories. The loyal principles of the Tories, their fondneſs for Royalty, their numerous connections and acquaintance, all theſe made it an object of importance to provide for and ſecure thoſe people to the French intereſt. For this purpoſe, and to ſecure other points, the French Miniſter preſſed Congreſs to give the *diſgraceful inſtructions* to our Miniſters, to be governed ultimately by the French Court as to the terms of peace. They feared that at the peace an independent party would ariſe, which could not eaſily be managed by them. This appears from Marbois's letter, from the letters of our Commiſſioners, and the declarations of Count de Vergennes at different times. For this reaſon they wiſhed to ſtrengthen their party, by attaching the Tories and their friends to their intereſt. Could they have ſecured to the Tories their confiſcated eſtates, or a compenſation for them, and a permanent reſidence in America, at a period when the Britiſh had given over all hopes of providing in that way for them, and when deſpair, as to their darling object, had ſeized the minds of the Tories themſelves, ſo that reſtoration might appear to have been effected by the French ſolely, and that unmerited, there can be no doubt but the Tories would have become the moſt devoted tools to France. Count de Vergennes even went ſo far as to deſire Mr. Adams to recommend it to Congreſs to leave all the European affairs to the court of France, and attend only to the affairs of America at home.

Our Commiſſioners repeatedly ſay, in different letters, that it was to them very clear, that the Court of France meant to prevent any of the great powers in Europe acknowledging our independence; and that we ſhould obtain, by the peace, from Britain, nothing beyond the point of naked independence; and not even that, till the French influence was more firmly eſtabliſhed in America. They accordingly endeavoured to break off the negociations, in order to gain more time and means. Marbois recommended this to Count de Vergennes in his letter, intimating that the French influence was not ſufficiently weighty to have a general peace. Mr. J. in one letter, ſays, "We have more reaſon to admire the *patience*, than to be ſatisfied with the *generoſity* of our allies;" alluding to the great reluctance with which they furniſhed us with money, and the ſteadineſs with which they purſued their great objects.

The conduct of the French, during the negotiation for peace, appears clearly to have been part of a ſyſtem, formed as early as 1778, by that court, to prevent our becoming independent of, and unmanageable by them after a peace. They appear to have apprehended that if our claims as to independence, by preliminary, territory, fiſhery, &c. ſhould be obtained by us, we ſhould ſoon throw off our dependence on them, and learn to think and act for ourſelves. They accordingly began to guard againſt this evil to them, by the terms of the treaty of alliance made in 1778, and by taking proper meaſures to have our Miniſters dependent upon them; and their inſtructions ſuch that the French Miniſters might have it

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in their power to determine what points America ſhould inſiſt upon at the treaty for peace; and of courſe what the terms of that treaty, as to America, ſhould be. For this purpoſe, they, by their influence, procured Dr. Franklin to be appointed *ſole* Miniſter at the Court of France. This gave them a good chance of his being the ſole Miniſter for negotiating peace, which muſt have as effectually ſecured to them all their views, as if the Count de Vergennes had been the ſole Negotiator.

In proof that the Court of France had long ago determined on the plan they purſued at the negotiation, and that they have all along been preparing Congreſs for their purpoſes, we need only attend to the memorial of Monſieur Gerard, and his communications from his court, in 1779, as they ſtand upod the *ſecret* journals of Congreſs. He ſays, that "his maſter was highly pleaſed with Congreſs, for having made Dr. Franklin the alone Miniſter to his court, who was a gentleman remarkable for his integrity, his abilities, and diſpoſition to conciliate; he conſidered it as a new evidence of the diſpoſition of Congreſs to oblige the King, and cement the alliance."

He further ſays, that "the publication of the treaty by Congreſs was improper and unprecedented; his maſter, however, was not angry at it, ſince it was only diſcovering to the world how *kind* and *generous* he had been to undertake our defence, *without any regard to his own intereſt*; and ſhewed what a *diſintereſted* attachment he had to America and the liberties of mankind, and of courſe the *high obligations he had conferred upon America.*" He ſays alſo, that "Congreſs ſhould give their Miniſter at the Court of Spain, directions to make the moſt liberal propoſitions to her, to induce her to acknowledge our independence, and to mediate for us, if a peace is on the tapis; and if the war is to continue, to take a part with us. For this purpoſe, great ceſſions of territory, &c. were neceſſary; that our Miniſters for negotiating peace ſhould be inſtructed to inſiſt upon no points, but ſuch as France ſhould adviſe to; that no preliminaries ſhould be unconditionally inſiſted upon, not even independence; that it might ſo happen, as that to have it only tacitly acknowledged in the treaty, would be moſt prudent, according to the circumſtances at the time; that ſuch an acknowledgement would anſwer every purpoſe to us, as France would then be a guarantee thereto, as ſhe was to Switzerland, Geneva," &c.

France foreſeeing it might be neceſſary, from circumſtances, to have the American independence reſt upon that ground, (the ground on which Switzerland and Geneva held theirs) the 8th article in the treaty of alliance, eventual and defenſive, was formed ſo as that France might judge herſelf whether to inſiſt upon a previous and expreſs acknowledgement of our independence, or only a *tacit* one*,

* This article of the treaty runs thus: "They mutually engage not to lay down their arms until the *Independence* of the United States ſhall have been *formally* or *tacitly* aſſured," &c.

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which was undoubtedly intended to put America abſolutely in her power. From all this it is clear, that France had determined on the line of policy which ſhe in fact purſued at the negotiation for peace, as long ago as when the treaty of alliance was formed; and that Monſ. Gerrard was preparing matters to carry it into effect in 1779. The fact is, *ſhe intended effectually to ſeparate us from Great Britain, but never meant that America ſhould be entirely independent of herſelf.*

The extract from Mr. Gerrard's repreſentation, which follows, was obtained after writing the above, and will ſhew that Congreſs muſt have ſeen the policy of France as long ago as July, 1779, and yet they afterwards gave thoſe famous inſtructions to our Miniſters.

After ſtating to Congreſs the ſituation of things in Europe, and the then proſpect of obtaining peace through the mediation of Spain, and the neceſſity of having the American Miniſters, empowered to make peace, he ſays he had ſtated theſe things to Congreſs, "that they may, if they think proper, take under conſideration, if it would not be expedient to give their Plenipotentiary * inſtructions and full powers, founded upon the neceſſity of circumſtances and the treaty of alliance, the expreſs and formal terms of which ſhall be, that peace ſhall not be made without an expreſs or *tacit* acknowledgement of the ſovereignty, and conſequently, *a fortiori*, of the rights inherent in ſovereignty, as well as of the independence of the United States, in matters of government and commerce. This ſubſtantial alternative in an engagement, which is a mere gratuitous gift, without any compenſation or ſtipulation, ought indeed never to be forgotten in a negotiation for peace. France foreſaw the extreme difficulties a formal and explicit acknowledgment might meet with. It was only obtained by Holland tacitly, after a war of thirty years, and explicitly after a reſiſtance of ſeventy. To this day, Geneva and the Swiſs Cantons have obtained no renunciation or acknowledgement, either tacit or formal, from their former ſovereigns; but they enjoy their ſovereignty and independence *only* under the *guarrantee* of *France*. His court thought it important that difficulties of this nature, which *reſide only in words*, *America* from enjoying *the thing itſelf*. From theſe conſiderations aroſe the very important and explicit ſtipulations in the treaty which he had juſt now related, and which had received the ſanction of the United States; and it remains with the prudence of Congreſs to examine, whether inſtructions upon ſome particular points may not fruſtrate the *ſalutary purpoſe* of the treaty of alliance, relative to a *tacit* acknowledgment which the ſituation of affairs may require." The *ſalutary purpoſe* of that treaty was, beyond all doubt, to ſeparate America from Britain, and to keep her dependent on France for her liberty and exiſtence as a nation.

The foregoing repreſentation was made, by Monſ. Gerrard, at a time when Congres were about inſtructing their Miniſters as to

* Dr. Franklin.

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the terms of peace, there being then a proſpect of a negotiation under the mediation of Spain: and it was evidently intended to prevent Congreſs from giving any inſtructions to their Miniſters which might obſtruct the views of France; to have our independence only tacitly acknowledged by the treaty, and dependent altogether upon the guarantee of France. This would have placed America in a ſituation ſo humiliating, ſo dependent, as to have deprived us of all the great advantages that we now ſucceed to by the treaty. Congreſs were ſo embarraſſed by that repreſentation, and the influence of the French over many of the members, that they ſpent nearly *two years* debating upon, and altering the inſtructions to their Miniſters. Motion after motion was made, and amendment after amendment propoſed; month after month, and year after year paſſed away, till finally, in 1782, the French Miniſter obtained ſuch inſtructions to the American miniſters as he wiſhed, ſuch as he ſuppoſed would anſwer their purpoſe, and enable the French Court to ſettle the terms for America. But the *virtue* and the *firmneſs* of Meſſrs. ADAMS and JAY defeated their views; and though fettered with one colleague who was devoted to France, and, as far as he could, promoted her intereſt in oppoſition to that of America, they, notwithſtanding all theſe embarraſſments, gained by the treaty every important point for America; *and immortal on the pages of our hiſtory be to their reſpected names.*

The inſtructions finally given to our miniſters were agreeable to the foregoing extract*, which was the laſt amendment made to them, and was propoſed by Monſ. Gerrard to a committee of Congreſs, appointed to confer with him on the ſubject, and by them reported to Congreſs as a neceſſary amendment!!

Here end the remarks of the forementioned member of Congreſs. Further proof of the exiſtence of French intrigue and influence in this country, is contained in the following extracts of *original* letters from a member of Congreſs to his friends in the Eaſtern States, written at Philadelphia, in 1783.

"It ſeems there are ſome among you, who openly approve the conduct of France during the negotiations for peace, and condemn the conduct of our miniſters. This I expected, or elſe that they would deny the whole, and rely upon their own effrontery to carry it through. *The French have certainly their partiſans among you, and violent ones too.* The divulging their *intrigues*, rendered it neceſſary for them to adopt one of thoſe lines of conduct. Their *money* and their *flattery*, both which they uſe, may gain them ſome active de-

* See Note on p. 242.

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voted tools; but if the body of the people ſuffer themſelves to be duped by them, they deſerve to be the ſervant of ſervants for ever.

"I EXPECT you are not aware that their influence will be exerted to encourage the oppoſition to the 4th, 5th, and 6th articles of the treaty *. Their object now is to prevent that treaty from taking effect; to keep Britain and us ſtill at variance; to promote diviſions both here and in England, the more effectually to keep us dependent on themſelves. That this is their policy, and that their engines are all at work, I think very evident from a great variety of circumſtances; and an attention to their former conduct will ſhew, that the ſame views, the ſame principles of policy, which induced the former, will lead them to the latter. There partiſans here, both in and out of office, are highly pleaſed at the riſing fermentation, at the appearance of general confuſion. They are oppoſed to every meaſure that would look like an attempt to check the popular tide.

"I find but few people who are ſufficiently attentive to, and jealous for, theſe times and ſuch intriguing ſpirits. I have ſuggeſted my ideas to ſome, who appeared alarmed, but could not believe that ſuch duplicity could be practiſed. It is, in their opinion, too deep, too hazardous a game, and too inimical for a *friend* to play. For my part, I look firſt for the *intereſt* of a nation; having found where that lies, I always expect them to purſue it, let the *appearances* be as they may."

* * * * * * * * * *

"In truth, the French did not intend a peace, but were ſurprized into it. The Count de Vergennes, when he politely conſented that the American Commiſſioners ſhould meet Mr. Oſwald, relied wholly on the reſtrictions he conceived them to be under, of recurring to him for advice; well knowing that in every ſuch recurrence, he would have it in his power to defeat the negotiation. He expected too, that ſufficient obſtructions would neceſſarily ariſe on the part of the Britiſh, *eſpecially as he himſelf encouraged them.* He intended to have dragged America through another campaign at leaſt: and inſtead of leaving her in circumſtances from which ſhe would riſe and make a figure, he meant that ſhe ſhould be ſo fettered with embarraſſments, that ſhe muſt have continued in a large degree *dependent on France.* Had this been the caſe, the political connexion with that nation might have been indiſſoluble. It is to the Count's miſtake of the characters of the American Commiſſioners, that we are, in ſome meaſure, indebted for the preſent pacification. Had he ſuppoſed they would have dared to conſtrue their inſtructions in the liberal manner they have done, he aſſuredly would never have truſted them with the opportunity. Mr. Oſwald, it appears, conſidered the intereſt of the two countries in the ſame light with Mr. Adams and Mr. Jay; every eſſay of the French, therefore, to divert

* Of 1783.

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him from the purpoſe, was vain and fruitleſs. But peace, however grateful it is to the many, cauſes great chagrin to ſome in public life. We have a junto here ſo completely *enliſted in the French ſervice*, and ſo cloſely attached to them by ſome *inviſible tie*, that I almoſt deſpair of ſeeing a ſeparation. Theſe men, like thoſe whom they ſerve, have it now in view to deprive us of thoſe ineſtimable advantages, which, if we act wiſely, muſt reſult to us from the peace. Their object is, to prevent our forming any commercial connexion with any European power, other than Spain and Sweden, theſe courts being entirely under the French management. To this end, they have preſſed the recal of Meſſrs. Dana, Adams, &c. and have urged that inſtructions ſhould be given to enter into no treaty, or even converſation, on the ſubject.—Mr. Dana might have finiſhed a very advantageous treaty long ago, *but for the French Miniſter*, whom he was bound to obey. Every oppoſition from the ſame quarter was made to Mr. Adams in Holland; and it was their policy which ſo exceedingly embarraſſed Mr. Jay at the Court of Madrid. In a word, it is clear, by the advices from all our Miniſters, except Dr. Franklin, that they oppoſe our connection with any power but themſelves. They meant to ſave us, *but it was to themſelves, and* FOR THEIR OWN USE.

"We are now told, that they are juſtly entitled to a monopoly of our tobacco trade; that it is the ſmalleſt compenſation we can make for their kindneſs and their expence in ſaving us; and that their farmers have made arrangements, counting on the benefits to ariſe from this excluſive trade. But ſhall we give ourſelves up in this manner? Shall we neglect to avail ourſelves of the advantages within our reach? Shall the great Council of America diſcover leſs knowledge and leſs virtue than their ſervants have done in every line and every character? Shall they, at this ſtage of the buſineſs, be the firſt to betray or relinquiſh the intereſt of their country? God forbid! For the honor of America, I hope it cannot happen. *Our true intereſt conſiſts in avoiding too cloſe a connexion with any nation, and by a juſt and pacific policy to derive commercial benefits from all:* and I truſt there is ſtill a majority in Congreſs who think with me, *and who, preferring the intereſts of this country to that of any other*, will purſue thoſe meaſures that promiſe the advancement of it.

April, 1783.

"I am told, that at Boſton the *ſetters* are playing off the refugee article againſt the Commiſſioners. Thus the French will let no man maintain his ground who ſtands in their way. It is, however, a game I expected they would play; and yet is the more wicked and unpardonable, when we know that *Vergennes* cauſed the inſertion of that article *himſelf*, and did it too for the purpoſe of embarraſſing *us*: that this was the motive, cannot be doubted, from the uſe that is now made of it by his emiſſaries in this country. Would not the annunciation of this fact guard the public from any further impoſition? Could any evil ariſe from its being known at

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this time? It would be doing the public an eſſential ſervice, and would reſcue ſome of the beſt characters from unmerited abuſe.

May, 1783.

"It is time that Maſſachuſetts changed her policy as to refugees. Several of the States will receive any and every body; and it will at laſt be found to be the dictate of ſound policy, and a regard to our own intereſt, to admit all who are not remarkably rancorous and active againſt us.

"I have mentioned to you the ***'s peace eſtabliſhment, the formation of a navy, and other favourite projects of the FINANCIER, and his followers and adherents; but theſe propoſitions ought to be rejected by Congreſs, and I think they will, though they will be backed by that influence which I have already deſcribed as being far too great. A thorough underſtanding betwixt the French Miniſter, the Spaniſh Agent, and ſome of the wealthier citizens of this place, forms a phalanx that attacks with great force; and when their whole efforts are brought to a point, and their numerous dependants are brought forth to action, they are almoſt irreſiſtible. It is their practice to *hunt* down every man that cannot be brought over to their views: and ſo many engines are ſet at work to depreſs every individual oppoſer, that a man muſt have more than a common ſhare of good fortune to eſcape them; ſo that an independent ſpirit here is in a conſtant ſtate of warfare. I find it difficult to *be well* with theſe people, and at the ſame time act honeſtly; but as I am not eaſily diſcompoſed, I am determined they ſhall finally reſpect me in ſpite of themſelves.

July 21, 1783.

"Maſſachuſetts appears to be in a great fermentation; parties run very high there, and violent meaſures are purſuing. The French intereſt is united with the ***, and *** is their leader; and it is well known to you, that he will be ſtopped by no principle or conſideration. The commutation with the army, and the refugee articles in the treaty, are made uſe of to inflame the people; and it muſt be allowed the inſtruments are well choſen, as no others could be uſed with equal ſucceſs.

"The Chevalier de Luzerne had the firſt notice here of the *new delegation*, and diſcovers the higheſt ſatisfaction with it; indeed he had no ſmall ſhare in producing it. He found it neceſſary to remove the men who thwarted his deſigns. The ſame parties are united againſt Mr. J. Adams, and intend to run him down as ſoon as he arrives (from Europe). Great efforts are making to render him unpopular, and the peace reprobated. The French have two points in view; to weaken us by internal diſſentions, and to prevent ſuch a conciliation with the Britiſh as may be the ground of any future uſeful connexion with them. In all this, their conduct is natural, and (for the diſciples of Machiavel) perfectly right. In purſuing their own intereſt, they muſt keep us as dependent as poſſible."

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If the propoſition, which the preceding facts tend to eſtabliſh, viz. that the conduct of the Government of France towards this country, ever ſince the commencement of our connexion with that nation, has been a ſeries of ſelfiſh cunning, maſked with the *name* of friendſhip, needed any further confirmation, it might be added, that the thing is, in itſelf, ſo very probable, as hardly to require any proof; and that the opinion which once prevailed in America, that the French had been the faithful protectors of our independence, and generous allies, and therefore entitled to our unceaſing gratitude, is ſo incredible, that nothing but the wonder-working intrigue of the French cabinet could ever have given it currency.

Laying aſide for a moment all the evidence which has been exhibited, let us examine the paſt ſtate of things, and aſk ourſelves, whether any other conduct, on the part of France, ought to have been expected by us. In the beginning of our revolutionary war, the *deſpotic* government of this nation ſaw their ancient and hated enemy, Britain, torn by domeſtic diſſentions; her American colonies, which had grown up to formidable ſtrength, in a ſtate of revolt, ſtruggling to eſtabliſh an independent *republic*, founded on principles of *civil liberty*. France too, it ought here to be remembered, had for many years poſſeſſed colonies in America, and had maintained long, expenſive, and bloody wars in their defence, and that too againſt the very people whoſe cauſe they had now eſpouſed with ſuch high pretenſions of friendſhip. What muſt neceſſarily have been the *feelings* and *wiſhes* of *ſuch* a government, ſo ſituated on contemplating ſuch a ſcene? Any man, not blinded by prejudice, muſt at once anſwer, *feelings* muſt have been *joy* at this convulſion and diſmemberment of the empire of their habitual and formidable enemy; but *hatred*, *jealouſy*,

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jealouſy, or *contempt* for thoſe *republican principles* advocated by the coloniſts, and which, in the opinion of Frenchmen themſelves, have ſince proved the bane of their monarchy. Their *wiſhes* muſt have been to encourage and aid the Americans to weaken their old enemy, to prolong, widen, and aggravate the breach between Britain and her colonies, and to render a reconciliation impoſſible. The independence of America, which would deprive Britain of an arm of great and increaſing ſtrength, would neceſſarily be a deſirable object. France, proverbial for her ambition and her intrigues, would wiſh further, if it were poſſible, to take America to herſelf; but ſhe well knew it would be impoſſible to perſuade the coloniſts of England to abandon their idea of independence, their love of liberty, and their former habits, and conſent to change allegiance only, and become dependent on a nation whoſe cruelties and perfidy, in recent wars on their frontiers, many of them had experienced, and moſt of them muſt have too well remembered. In ſuch a ſtate of things, what muſt have been the policy of ſuch a government as the French then had? Undoubtedly to do all they could to aggrandize their own country; to render America *nominally independent*, but *actually dependent* on France; to manage the profitable American trade for their own benefit; and for this purpoſe, to influence her legiſlative councils; to curtail the limits and reſources of America, and keep her weak, that ſhe might always need France as a protector; to perpetuate the old confederation, which ſhe ſaw was totally defective in energy to preſerve the union of the States, or to combine the national force; to kindle and cheriſh popular prejudices againſt wiſe and faithful rulers, and their meaſures, and thus to weaken the country by diviſions, and its government by the loſs of public confidence; to

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to deceive the people, honeſt and unſuſpecting, into gratitude for pretended benefits; and to bind us to France by political ties, which would enable her to make war and peace for us. If theſe things could be effected, France would then have all the advantages from America, the *name* of empire over her excepted, which a naked change of allegiance from England to herſelf could have given her. This courſe, which a diſcerning politician might have eaſily predicted from exiſting circumſtances, France has in fact purſued.

During the unpromiſing ſtate of American affairs, in 1776 and 1777, we could obtain no other aid from France than ſmall ſums of money, *reluctantly** and *ſecretly* given, and afterwards formally *denied* to the Britiſh Miniſter. As our ſtrength and determination to be independent increaſed, and when ſucceſs crowned our arms at Trenton, and in the capture of Gen. Burgoyne's army, ſhe began to have ſome confidence in our ſucceſs; and in 1778, when independence, under the guiding and protecting hand of Providence, which had conducted us thus far, was in our power, ſhe made a treaty of alliance with the United States; and taking advantage of our unſuſpicious confidence, and our peculiar ſituation, by one article of it, ſhe bound us to guarantee the poſſeſſions of France in

* "We have more reaſon to admire the *patience*, than to be ſatisfied with the *generoſity* of our allies." See p. 252.

It ought to be mentioned, however, that in the ſpring of 1776, the ſum of *two hundred thouſand* pounds, in money, arms, and ammunition, was raiſed in France by *ſubſcription*, as *a preſent* to America. But Mr. *Beaumarchais*, a French merchant, through whoſe hands the articles ſubſcribed were remitted, had the addreſs, by his agent, Mr. *Francey*, to make Congreſs *pay for them*. [Gordon's Hiſt. Rev. vol. iii. p. 219.] A correct account of the manner in which our debt to France was accumulated, would be a uſeful piece of information. It is believed that this, and every other ſpecies of debt, have been *amply* paid.

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the Weſt Indies. The advantage of this to her, as a mere guarantee could be nothing, as the Weſt-India iſlands needed a *fleet* for their protection, which ſhe had, and we had not. The true object undoubtedly was, to put it in her power to draw us into all her wars, which was the natural tendency of this ſtipulation, as it was a *general* guarantee, not an engagement for a certain number of ſhips, men, or ſupplies, but an *obligation*, to fulfil which, might, and probably would, call forth all our ſtrength and reſources in every French war. In return for this, France guaranteed to the United States their *independence*, which was already ſafe, and which the former had the deepeſt intereſt in preſerving. The 8th article of this treaty was alſo expreſsly deſigned to impair our reſpectability, and to ſecure our dependence on France*.

Thus the *friendſhip*, of which the French partiſans have boaſted ſo much, began to unfold itſelf. When the war was drawing to a cloſe, and peace was to be made, hypocriſy, in every footſtep, as we have already ſeen, diſgraces their national character. They intrigued, and, in moſt inſtances, with effect, to prevent the acknowledgment of our independence by other nations, in order to have this favour peculiar to themſelves, and to keep us dependent on them alone. By intriguing in Congreſs, and out of doors, they obtained the truly wonderful inſtructions to our commiſſioners, that *independent* America ſhould make ſuch a peace *only* as *France ſhould direct!* This generous and unlimited confidence was abuſed by the French, in exerting to the utmoſt their diplomatic ſkill, to deprive us of the fiſheries, the weſtern territory, and the Miſſiſſippi, leſt we ſhould grow rich and powerful, and be induced to throw off their guardianſhip.

* See this more fully explained, p. 253 and 254.

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They attempted to compel us to agree to the return of the Tories, and to compenſate them for their confiſcated eſtates, evidently for purpoſes hoſtile to our tranquillity. They obtained an influence in our Congreſs, before the exiſtence of the preſent government, viſible to many of its members, and extremely injurious to our intereſts.

Thus have we traced, ſummarily, the line of conduct purſued towards the United States by the French *monarchy*; and it certainly affords full proof of the *veracity* of the National Convention in one inſtance, and that is, when in an *honeſt* moment, or more probably when *reſentment* againſt the old Government got the aſcendancy over *political prudence*, they declared that "*the ſupport offered by France to the United States in the ſtruggle for independence, was* ONLY THE FRUIT OF A BASE SPECULATION; *that our glory offended their ambitious views; and that* THEIR AMBASSADORS BORE THE CRIMINAL ORDERS OF STOPPING THE CAREER OF OUR PROSPERITY."

In what ways the French Ambaſſadors, during the monarchy, executed their *criminal orders* in "ſtopping the career of our proſperity," may be learned in part from the preceding facts and obſervations. That France appointed able men, who would be faithful to their truſt, ought not to be doubted; and there is little reaſon to doubt, that the injurious effects of their efforts among us have been very great. The diſunion among the States, which prevailed after the peace, which often wore a threatening aſpect on our independence, and even our national exiſtence; the total loſs of public credit; the imbecility of the confederation; the prevalence of diſorganizing principles, which, in one inſtance *, generated an alarming inſurrection; the

* Maſſachuſetts.

diviſions

diviſions in the old Congreſs, and the looſe, democratic politics of ſome of its members; the violent oppoſition made to the adoption of an efficient government, in the Federal Conſtitution, by which theſe evils, which were weakening and ruining us, might be remedied: all theſe things tended to "*ſtop the career of our proſperity*;" and whether they were in any degree excited and cheriſhed by the intrigues and influence of France, or not, were certainly conſonant to her policy, gratifying to her wiſhes, and, if we may credit the National Convention, agreeable to the inſtructions of her Ambaſſadors.

Does any aſk, whether *regenerated* France, (as that *confuſion of principles*, now exiſting there, has been moſt *profanely* termed) has not been more friendly? I anſwer, The revolutionary Government, as we have juſt remarked, has *confeſſed* to us, in lively colors, the duplicity and baſeneſs of the former policy towards the United States; but *repentance and reformation* have not followed *confeſſion*. On the contrary, they have outdone their predeceſſors in nothing ſo much as in their *duplicity** and *fraud*. The "*little finger*" of the *Republic* has been found "*thicker than the loins*" of the *Monarchy*. *This* "chaſtiſed us with *whips*," *that* with "*ſcorpions*."

The

* One inſtance of their duplicity, little known, but well authenticated, ought here to be noticed. Mr. Adet, in his famous official note to the Secretary of State, more commonly and properly ſtyled, his *appeal* to the American *people*, publiſhed Nov. 5, 1796, among other topics, by which he attempts to excite their uneaſineſs with the Government of their country, charges it (the Government) with "eluding the *amicable* mediation of the French Republic for breaking the chains of the American priſoners at *Algiers*." It is a *fact*, I declare it on *unqueſtionable* authority, that at the very time we were relying on the French for their *promiſed friendly* aid in making a treaty with the DEY of Algiers, and obtaining the liberation

The American Government, of all the nations, firſt acknowledged the French Republic; and the people, from Maine to Georgia, rejoiced in her victories. We have ſhut our eyes againſt her exceſſes; have apologized for her crimes; and ſo blinded have we been by our partialities, ſo unwilling to believe her capable of meditating our injury, under the garb of friendſhip, that evidence of her unfriendly views towards us, which would have produced full conviction in unbiaſſed minds, barely, for a long time, excited reluctant ſuſpicion in us. We have granted indulgences to her prizes, which our treaty did not warrant; and in doing it, have hazarded a war with Britain; and our embargo act was infringed to preſerve her from famine. France, in return for all theſe acts of *real* friendſhip, has ſent us *Genet* to aſſume the ſovereignty of the United States; to levy troops in its territory to act againſt a nation with whom we were at peace, and to inſtitute ſecret, diſorganizing clubs*, ſubverſive of the peace and liberties of our country.

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ration of our unhappy countrymen from the moſt deplorable ſlavery, *the French did obſtruct our negociations; did encourage the* DEY *to make demands* (already enormous) *too high to be complied with*; and by *other artifices*, endeavoured to prevent a treaty, and the accompliſhment of the *humane objects* of our government. There is good reaſon to believe that the treaty, now exiſting, would not have been concluded, if it *had not happened* to have been done *without the agency* or *privity* of the *French Conſul*, whom our Commiſſioner was directed to conſult.

* The *Jacobin Clubs*, inſtituted by Genet, were a formidable engine for the accompliſhment of the deſigns of France to ſubjugate and govern this country. They ſtarted into exiſtence by a kind of magic influence, in all parts of the United States, from Georgia to New-Hampſhire; and being linked together by correſpondence, by conſtitutional ties, and, if I have been correctly informed, by *oaths*, after the manner of the ſocieties of the *Illuminati* in Europe, they acted upon one plan, in concert, and with an ultimate reference to the ſame grand objects. By means of their diſperſion and intimate intercourſe, their diſorganizing principles

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country. Upon the complaint of our Government aginſt him, he was recalled; and *Fauchet* was ſent to

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ciples and meaſures were eaſily diſſeminated through the country, and the French party organized, marſhalled, and inſtructed how to act againſt our own government, in favour of France.

The leading members in theſe *clubs*, who *poſſeſſed the* SECRET, of which Fauchet, in his intercepted letter, are known to have beeen uniformly devoted to the intereſts of France, and in the confidence of her miniſters and agents in this country. And there is reaſon to believe their intention was, in union with France, to produce a "*general exploſion*;" or, in other words, a *revolution* in our country, and to put it under the guardianſhip of France, as Holland, Geneva, and Switzerland have ſince been, by her partizans in thoſe republics. But our Government, vigilant and diſcerning, diſcovered their deep deſigns, and frowned upon and defeated them. Theſe ſocieties have ſince ceaſed *openly* to act; but, like their parent ſociety in Bavaria, which, when ſuppreſſed under one form, was ſoon revived again under the name of the *German Union*, and purſued, with renewed vigour, the ſame objects; ſo the *Jacobin Clubs*, finding it unpopular to act under that name, have lately been revived under the title of the *American Society of United Iriſhmen*, which appears to be formed on ſimilar principles, and for the ſame purpoſes.

The ſimilarity in the movements, the principles, and views of the *Illuminati*, and *the ſocieties* which we have mentioned, render it highly probable that the latter are the genuine offspring of the former. Their connection, indeed, can be traced, with the evidence of probability, if not of certainty. Profeſſor Robiſon aſſerts, upon credible evidence, that the *Jacobin Club* at Paris was formed by the advice, aad under the direction, of ſome German deputies, from the ſociety of the *Illuminati*, who, by requeſt of Mirabeau and others, came to Paris in 1788, to illuminate the Great National Lodge of Free Maſons in that city. "The firſt proceeding (ſays the Profeſſor) by the advice of theſe deputies, was the formation of a political committee in every lodge. This committee correſponded with the diſtant lodges, and in it were diſcuſſed all the political principles which were to be inculcated on the members. The author of the *Neuſte Arbeitung* ſays expreſsly, that "he was thoroughly inſtructed in this; that it was given in charge to theſe committees to frame general rules, and to carry through the *great plan of a general overturning of religion and government*." The principal leaders of the ſubſequent revolution were members of theſe committees. Here were the plans laid, and they were tranſmitted through the kingdom by the correſponding committees. Theſe committees aroſe

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to bribe and corrupt our public officers; to conduct the *conſpiracy* againſt our Government; to prepare and arrange the materials for a " generel ex-

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aroſe from the *Illuminati* in Bavaria, who had by no means given over working; and theſe committees produced the *Jacobin Club*," which, there is little reaſon to doubt, in turn, by the inſtrumentality of *Genet*, produced the *Jacobin ſocieties* in America, between which, and the mother club at Paris, there was a ſtrong reſemblance, and a cloſe correſpondence.

Another circumſtance which renders it probable, that the leading members and abettors of the Jacobin ſocieties acted in concert, and under the direction of, the *Illuminati* in Europe, is, that they have been the chief diſſeminators, in this country, of the demoralizing principles of the *Illuminati*, and the circulators of thoſe publications which are deſigned to bring into diſcredit and contempt the Chriſtian religion.

The illuminated French Revolutioniſts well knew that they could not extenſively circulate their principles in America, ſo long as we retained our reverence for Chriſtianity, its inſtitutions, and its morals. They knew, that, in order to ſecure our cordial friendſhip, and co-operation in their impious deſigns upon the moral and political world, they muſt make us as impious, as unprincipled, and immoral, as themſelves. For this purpoſe they ſent over *Volney*, among other philoſophiſts, to " ſap the foundation of *morality*, by eſtabliſhing *expediency*, as an univerſal rule of right;" and employed Thomas Paine to " wound religion by the ſhafts of wit and ridicule."

The philoſophiſts and revolutioniſts of France appear to have acted upon the maxim of *Thomas Paine*, " that *an army of principles* will penetrate where an army of ſoldiers cannot. It is neither the Rhine, (he ſays) the channel, nor *the ocean*, that can arreſt its progreſs. It will march to the horizon of the world, and it will conquer." In conformity to this maxim, that infamous book, ſtyled the " *Age of Reaſon*," was written in France, (and, it is ſaid, in the houſe, and under the patronage, of Mr. *Monroe*), printed there in the *Engliſh* language, and a cargo of fifteen thouſand copies, at one time, ſent into theſe United States, and diſpoſed of by ſale at a cheap rate, or given away. Beſides theſe imported copies, numerous editions of the ſame work (ſhame on our country!) have been printed here. The effects produced by the extenſive circulation of theſe books, and others of the ſame caſt and tendency, in the evident ſpread of infidel and atheiſtical principles, and the conſequent deterioration of morals, evince that theſe apoſtles of *Illuminiſm* have not been unſucceſsful in their labours.

ploſion.*"

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ploſion*." Him, *Adet* ſucceeded, who, in obedience to his inſtructions, has inſulted and vilified our Government, intrigued in a moſt important election, and induſtriouſly attempted to draw a line of diviſion between the Government and the people. Since all this, France has refuſed to receive Gen. *Pinckney* as our Miniſter, becauſe we would not be duped by her; and has in *fact*, if not in *form*, demanded the right of nominating a Miniſter for us. She has treated *three* ſpecial Envoys with the moſt inſulting neglect and contempt; has refuſed to hear their complaints and their propoſals for peace, and has had the unbluſhing impudence to boaſt of her "*diplomatic ſkill*," and of "*the means ſhe poſſeſſed in this country*," as being "*ſufficient to enable her, with her* FRENCH PARTY *in America, to throw the blame, which might attend the rupture of the negotiations, on the Federaliſts*;" and to declare that this ſhould be done†. She has plundered our commerce to an immenſe amount‡; has inſulted, impriſoned, and butchered our citizens; and, after all, has demanded that the *amount* of her *aggreſſions* ſhould be the *meaſure* of our *tribute!!!*

Americans

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* "The preſent criſis is indubitably connected with a *general exploſion*, for ſome time preparing in the public mind, but which this local and precipitate eruption (meaning the Weſtern inſurrection) will cauſe to miſcarry; or at leaſt check for a long time." *Fauchet's intercepted letter.*

† See the Diſpaches of our Commiſſioners.

‡ Mr. Monroe, and after him, the French partizans in this country, have aſſerted, that the capture of our veſſels by the French, was produced by the *Britiſh treaty*; and this circumſtance has ſerved not a little to inflame oppoſition to this inſtrument. But nothing can be more falſe than this aſſertion. Not to mention what has often been repeated, that this order involved *all neutrals*, and therefore could not be recrimination for ſuppoſed injuries by the *American* treaty, theſe captures were determined on at Paris, *long before the ratification of the treaty was known there*: for it appears from Mr. Monroe's view, that the government of France did not conſider the ratificated as *compleated*, till the

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Americans, though patient to long ſuffering, have at length riſen indignant at ſuch accumulated injuries and outrage. France, perceiving that ſhe has progreſſed

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the Houſe of Repreſentatives had ſanctioned it. The evidence of the fact juſt aſſerted, reſults from a converſation which took place in the vicinity of Boſton, in the ſummer of 1796, between an American gentleman of great integrity and reſpectability, in whoſe veracity full confidence is to be placed, and a French emigrant of note, a man of amiable manners, and whoſe ſituation greatly intereſted the ſympathetic feelings of thoſe who became acquainted with him. The ſubſtance of this converſation, as related to me by the American gentleman himſelf, follows.

Emigrant. "As ſoon as the Emperor of Germany ſhall be "broken down, which may be momently expected, the French "government will announce to the world its ſolemn determina- "tion to *capture every veſſel upon the ocean*, which ſhall be found "to have on board *any article* of the growth, product, or manu- "facture, of any of the *Britiſh dominions*, without any reſpect "to the nation to which *the veſſel* or *the articles* belong, or to "the country from, or to, which ſhe might be ſailing. *This* "*determination* has *long* ſince been made at Paris. My informa- "tion of it came from an *unqueſtionable* ſource and authority and "you will certainly ſee it executed."

American. "I do not doubt it, Sir, and ſhould be rejoiced "to ſee it attempted; for I have long been perſuaded that France "holds the rights of nations and of men in perfect contempt, "and will do all they can to deſtroy thoſe who do not reſiſt her. "I wiſh to ſee the atrocity of her deſigns ſo openly diſplayed "that *all the world* may be compelled to acknowledge it; and no "purt of it ſuffer any longer from her deluſions, which have "hitherto done more than her arms," &c.

Emigrant. "There is no other way of *deſtroying England*, and "you Americans are as much intereſted as the French, in *the* "*deſtruction of England*, and you ought, therefore, with all other "nations profeſſing neutrality, to *acquieſce in this meaſure*."

This extraordinary converſation was repeated at the time to ſeveral reſpectable gentlemen, who now recollect it.

If then the teſtimony of this reſpectable emigrant is to be credited, the meaſure of the Government of France, authoriſing the capture of our veſſels, which has been, with ſo much aſſurance, aſcribed to the Britiſh treaty, had no connection with it, and had been determined on *long before* its ratification. Add to this, Mr. Monroe, in his letter of June 12, 1796, ſuppoſes the French "*councils* are ſettled on this intereſting topic (the Britiſh treaty) and

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progreſſed too faſt in her work of revolutionizing* our Government, and that ſhe has incautiouſly raiſed a ſpirit formidable to her *ſecret* and inſidious deſigns, has now recourſe to her old pretences of *friendſhip*; and, with unparalleled effrontery, *cants* of

and that he ſhall hear nothing further from them on it." And on the 28th of June, 1796, M. de la Croix applied to Mr. Monroe, by letter, to know if it were that the Houſe of Repreſentatives had provided for the execution of the treaty; and this he did, in order that, *if true*, he might call the attention of the Directory to the ſubject, as intereſting in its conſequences to the French Republic. On the 7th of July, the firſt ſpecification of objections to the treaty was made by M. de la Croix to Mr. Monroe; and it was not till ſome time in Auguſt, that he (Monroe) heard any thing of the orders to capture our veſſels which he then *diſbelieved*); and it was not till October that he had *official* notice of it. And yet this French emigrant, the *ſummer before*, aſſerted, to the gentleman above-mentioned, at the diſtance of three thouſand miles from Paris, that the ſyſtem had *then*, for a *long time*, been ſettled. The Britiſh treaty ſerved as a convenient *pretence* for the promulgation of this iniquitous, hoſtile meaſure, and was intended, no doubt, to anſwer the double purpoſe of juſtifying this aggreſſion on our neutral rights, and of bringing odium on the treaty.

Another important reflection occurs, on reading the preceding converſation. It appears that this emigrant, though proſcribed and impoveriſhed by his countrymen, was yet poſſeſſed, at this diſtance, of the moſt *ſecret deſigns* of the French Government, *long before* they were diſcovered by diplomatic men *in Paris*. And hence it is very natural to ſuſpect, that this emigrant was ſerving the Government of France here, in order, probably, to gain their permiſſion to return, or from ſome other leſs honourable views. And is there not good reaſon to believe, that a very large proportion of the French in this country, exiles as well as others, are devoted to France, and ſerving the tyrants at Paris? In ſaying this, I would be far from implicating one honeſt man among this unfortunate claſs of people. No one feels for the *honeſt* ſufferers from Europe more than I do, or is more ready to give them relief. But if a man, poſſeſſing ſo many amiable qualities as the emigrant of whom we have been ſpeaking, was capable of acting a double part, it ought to put us on our guard againſt *foregners*.

* Some, perhaps, may be inclined to doubt, or even to deny any deſign of the rulers of France to effect a *revolution* in this country. If ſuch perſons require any further proof of this than is contained in

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of her *wiſhes* for reconciliation, of *her* JUSTICE and of *our* INJURIES!! If ſhe expects to gain credit with

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in the preceding narrative, and the courſe of events for ſix years paſt, I have to requeſt them to attend to the following information from high diplomatic authority in Europe. The original letters containing it are before me.

* * * *, *March* 31, 1798.

" * * *,

" France has formed, and is not likely to abandon her project reſpecting both North and South America."

* * * * * * *

" The rapidity of ſyſtem with which one event follows another, in Europe, will ſoon put France in a ſituation when ſhe will commence, in earneſt, her project reſpecting America."

* * * * * * *

" The Directory do certainly believe that they have many friends and partiſans among us. If they did not give credit to perfidious perſons who told them ſo, their experience, in all other countries into which they have introduced themſelves, would lead them to infer the exiſtence of a party in their favour in America; and this inference would be ſtrengthened by the continuance of our commiſſioners at Paris, which is accounted for by the belief that they dare not go home.

If South America ſhall be divided into a large number of ſmall republics, and put under the government of thoſe who ſhall be firſt initiated and made to feel a due ſympathy for France, the *Great Nation* will then be in the ſituation deſcribed by a perſon lately returned from a *ſecret miſſion to the Directory into the United States*, who ſays, that " France wants only *un point d'appui* [footing] upon the borders, or within the United States, to make a *fourth of September* at Philadelphia."

* * * * * * *

" I have not the ſmalleſt portion of doubt that France expects to revolutionize our country; and that the attempt will be made when our turn comes."

" * * * *, *April* 9, 1798.

" A letter I have this minute received from Paris, confirms my opinion, long ſince formed, that France had ſettled, and would not be diverted from her plan reſpecting America. Is it not incredible that we ſhould any longer hope even for our ſucceſs from our miſſion? After all the humiliation that our envoys have ſuffered; after unceaſing intrigues to divide us; after having humbly waited more than ſix months in the halls and anti-chambers of the Directory, ſometimes ſpoken to by a ſubordinate clerk, and at others inſulted

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with *real* Americans, ſhe muſt pay our plundered merchants, reſpect our flag, and honor, or at leaſt ceaſe to inſult our Government.

Until France ſhall abandon her project of revolutionizing the United States, our ſafety depends, under God, to our union, our vigilance, and our valour. With the favour of Heaven, our ſituation and reſources render us invincible. French intrigue alone can conquer by corrupting us. To this

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nſulted by the groſs and offenſive propoſals of ſome profligate renegado, retained in the ſervice of the miniſter, two of them are to be ſent away; and the third will be allowed to ſtay; and when the Directory ſhall have nothing elſe to do, will be heard in excuſe of our errors, and in mitigation of our puniſhment!!"

* * * * * * *

"The Dutch will receive their new conſtitution, and thus become one and indiviſible. The Romans are waiting for the courier that ſhall bring theirs; and in the interim have organized a club, under the permiſſion of the *Great Nation*, called "The *Rivals of Brutus*." They will probably be employed to act in other countries; and *ſome of the boldeſt of them will repair to Philadelphia.*

"Helvetia has been proclaimed, by the French legions a Republic, and by her conſtitution (likewiſe preparing at Paris) is to be duly conſolidated and ſimplified.

"Extravagant as you may think me, I have ſome reaſon to believe that Th. P. (Thomas Paine) and ſome other renegadoes, have held ſeveral meetings in Paris, *to reform the Conſtitution of the United States*; and that the Directory will attempt to effect a 4th of September at Philadelphia, in like manner as they have done in Holland, and very lately in the Ciſalpine republic.

* * * * * * *

"Do not be decived by the French. They have ſettled their plan, and expect we ſhall become firſt their *dupes*, and then their *victims*."

Theſe facts may help to explain the probable deſign of a late *extraordinary* embaſſy to Paris from the *French party* in this country, and to account for their *ſecret* military preparations which have been diſcovered in Philadelphia; for the ſuſpicious aſſociation and movements of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen; and probably for the riſing fermentation in ſeveral of the ſouthern States, of which ſome wholeſome, but obnoxious acts of Congreſs, are the *oſtenſible* cauſe.

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ſource of danger we cannot be too attentive. Happy for theſe United States, our political connection with this intriguing nation is diſſolved. At length we enjoy the fruit of our revolution, *Independence*. That day, on which we were politically ſevered from France, forms a glorious epoch in our hiſtory, which merits to be celebrated *in perpetuum*, as the day of our *complete* emancipation from foreign domination. Too long, and too intimate, has been our intercourſe with this corrupt and corrupting nation; too numerous have been her partiſans, and too great her influence, among the people, and in the legiſlative aſſemblies of America. "The infection of her ſociety is a greater curſe than war or peſtilence. Many years of vigilant, active duty, on the part of the friends of religion and their country, will not retrieve the injury to Chriſtian inſtitutions, to morals and patriotiſm, which has ariſen from our too fond attachment to France. But, God be praiſed, "the ſnare is now broken, and we are eſcaped."

Our ancient and goodly inſtitutions, corrupted, indeed, in too many inſtances, by the baneful principles of the new philoſophy, are ſtill preſerved among us. Our Government, ſtrong in the affections and confidence of the people, is yet in the hands of men who reſpect Chriſtianity and its ordinances; who are convinced that *morality* is neceſſary to good government, and that *religion* is its only ſure baſis. Our Legiſlators have not aboliſhed the Chriſtian *Sabbath*, nor interdicted its public obſervance. They have neither ſhut up our churches, nor converted them into "Temples of Reaſon," nor profaned them with the worſhip of infamous *proſtitutes*, enrobed and inſtalled as "tutelary goddeſſes." The inſtructors of our ſchools do not teach their pupils to deſpiſe the BIBLE, nor to "*deteſt* GOD;" nor have we civil rulers, who, as a body, are capable of applauding

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ſuch impious conduct*. Though the votaries of infidelity and licentiouſneſs are too numerous, they are yet the minority of the nation, and we will hope are now on the decline, both in numbers and influence. The lamentable iſſue of the great experiment, made in France, of governing a civilized people without the aids of religion, has procured for Chriſtianity many able advocates, and furniſhed many ſtrong motives to the Chriſtian to cheriſh his faith. While France, both in a political and religious view, exhibits an awful example for us to ſhun, we cannot but feel for her preſent deplorable wretchedneſs, and the tremendous calamities which, in all probability, ſtill await this profligate nation. Although the "prejudices of philoſophers (philoſophiſts) and *ſyſtemiſts*," have been pronounced "*incorrigible*," we will indulge the hope that the uncommon afflictions and miſeries which the atheiſtical conſpirators againſt religion and government have brought upon France, and thoſe under her controul, will operate conviction and regret in the blindeſt underſtanding and the hardeſt heart; and thus all this "wrath of man" be made ultimately to "praiſe God." How much ſoever we deteſt the principles and the conduct of the French, we ſtill moſt ſincerely wiſh them well; that they may ſpeedily enjoy the fruits of true repentance and reformation; the bleſſings of good government, peace, and pure

* On the 30th of Nov. 1793, the pupils of a new republican ſchool, in France, appeared at the bar of the Convention, when their leader declared—(I ſhudder while I commit the horrid blaſphemy to paper)—that "*He and his ſchoolfellows deteſted God!* that inſtead of learning the Scriptures, they learned the Declaration of Rights, and made the Conſtitution their catechiſm." The Preſident of this Pandemonium expreſſed *the ſatisfaction of the Convention* at the declaration they had made. The young demons were *admitted to the honors of the ſitting, and received the kiſs of fraternity amidſt the loudeſt applauſes!!!*"

See Gifford's Letter to Erſkine, p. 50.

Chriſtianity.

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Chriſtianity. Then we will embrace them as FRIENDS; till then, we ought to hold them as ENEMIES.

GALLOWAY'S EXPOSURE *of Sir* WILLIAM HOWE.

The little Tract, which I am here about to copy into this work, is now become very ſcarce, and, from that combination of circumſtances, which have hitherto prevented a true hiſtory of the American rebellion from being publiſhed in England, it may, if not preſerved by me, probably ſink out of print for ever. I have read it with great attention, and I could not but read it with impartiality; for, I have never had any perſonal acquaintance or connection with either of the parties, and as to any undue influence from political opinions, I could be under none, becauſe I was a child at the time when the tranſactions which are the ſubject of diſpute took place.

Upon reading this pamphlet, I found it to contain more intereſting and valuable matter than I had ever before been poſſeſſed of reſpecting the American war. *After* I had read it, I lived ſeven years in Delaware States and in Pennſylvania; I was very frequently in New Jerſey, and I lived ſix months in New York. During all this time, I loſt no opportunity of comparing Mr. GALLOWAY'S ſtatements with the accounts of perſons on the ſpot; and I do moſt ſolemnly declare, that all I have ever heard on the ſubject, whether from Whigs or Tories, from American or Britiſh officers and ſoldiers, perfectly agrees with the ſtatements of Mr. GALLOWAY. The pamphlet was publiſhed in England after Sir William Howe's return; and it ought to have produced an effect far more ſignal than what it did produce; but Faction was too ſtrong for Truth.

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REPLY

To the Observations of Lieutenant General Sir WILLIAM HOWE, *on a Pamphlet entitled Letters to a Nobleman. With an Appendix.*

WHEN a man conscious of his own misconduct or at least lying under the charge of having betrayed a public trust, a trust of as great importance as was ever committed to any subject, finds himself under the necessity of misrepresenting notorious facts, and even of descending to personal detraction, for his own vindication, he is truly to be pitied. This appears to be the case of the late Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in America. If the Author of the "Letters to a Nobleman" has contributed to the distress of the General, he has done it with reluctance, from a regard to truth and justice, and a sense of duty to the public, and not from any impulse of private resentment; for he frankly declares he never had any cause of personal enmity to Sir William Howe, who neither had personally injured nor offended him; and therefore, that the motives which led him to publish his Strictures on the Conduct of the American War, could not arise from such a principle. He considered him only in his public capacity, and, imagining, that he could throw new light on a subject which appeared to many dark and problematical, and in which the public welfare was intimately concerned, he proceeded to animadvert upon his conduct as commander in Chief.

Nor was the examination of the management of the American war needlessly undertaken. The unparalleled failures in that war, the uncommon magnitude of the evils in which they had involved the nation, with the reluctance of Government to make judicial enquiry into the causes of them, loudly called for it.

We

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We had ſeen the General in the Middle Colonies, commanding a force always, commonly four times, and at certain periods eight times, greater than that of his enemy; a force ſo powerful, ſo adequate to the purpoſes for which it was intended, that he could not help expreſſing his "utter amazement" on the occaſion, and paying to the Secretary of State of the American department the greateſt, though not more than a juſt encomium for his "uncommon exertions." To this was added a naval force of eighty veſſels of war, under the command of his Noble Brother, to co-operate with him in ſubduing the moſt unnatural and unjuſtifiable reſiſtance that *ever happened in any country.*

We had ſeen him, between the 3d of September and the 8th of December, driving that enemy before him from Long Iſland, over the North River, and the Delaware, killing, captivating, and reducing his army from 18,000 to 3000 men, and taking from him *the whole province of New Jerſey.*

But ſuch was the reverſe of conduct (it could not be of fortune, for Fortune, however variable and frolic, has never yet been found to commit ſuch blunders), ſuch was the dereliction of military virtue, that he ſuffered that reduced, panic-ſtruck enemy to ſurpriſe his advanced poſt, and drive him out of Weſt Jerſey, and to reconquer all Eaſt Jerſey, except his three poſts on the Rariton; and eſtabliſhed at Morris Town in the neighbourhood of his head-quarters, to beſiege, harraſs, and diſtreſs the whole Britiſh army, from December to June, *without making one attempt to diſlodge him.*

We had ſeen him, having under his command at New York 30,000 men, marching out againſt this enemy, who, by his own exaggerated account, had no more than 10,000, new-raiſed and undiſciplined; and a few days after, ſhamefully retreating before him

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him from Hillſborough to Amboy, without taking *any one proper ſtep to bring him to an engagement.*

We had ſeen him, after this diſgraceful retreat, embarking his army on ſhip-board, at an immenſe expence to the nation; and, forewarned of the difficulties and dangers he muſt neceſſarily encounter on the ocean, proceeding, againſt contrary winds, 700 miles, to meet the ſame enemy poſted on ſtronger ground, and enabling him, by this waſte of time, to procure *near double his former numbers.*

We had ſeen him, contrary to the moſt urgent motives, to the plaineſt dictates of military ſcience, and the explicit orders of his Sovereign, lead his force 600 miles from the place where he was directed to join General Burgoyne, and at the very time when that junction was to have been made; and by this abſurd conduct *ſacrifice a whole Britiſh army.*

We had ſeen him at Brandywine, by the moſt judicious and ſpirited manœuvres, perfectly ſurround and hem in, between the two columns of his own force and impaſſable waters, the whole American army, vigorouſly attack, and ſuddenly defeat it; and yet, with an indolence not to be juſtified, he ſuffered the defeated remains to lie a whole night in Cheſter within eight miles of his camp, *and on the next morning to eſcape unmoleſted.*

We had ſeen him at Goſhen a few days after, when his enemy, with his reduced force, had incautiouſly and foolihly advanced near the van of his army, after one of his columns had actually "engaged with the enemy's advanced guard*," intimidated from his intended attack by a fall of *rain*, although that circumſtance was much more favourable to his own regular troops than to the undiſciplined troops of his enemy; although *that enemy had a conſiderable river in its rear.*

* See Sir William Howe's Letter.

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We had ſeen him at Germantown ſuffer himſelf to be ſurpriſed, his advanced poſts defeated and driven back upon the main body of his army, and that army in imminent danger of a total rout *by an inferior undiſciplined army.*

We had ſeen him, when the enemy's force lay at White Marſh, and when he actually had the beſt information of its poſition and ſtrength, march out of his lines under a pretence to attack it; and yet, after lying three days within two miles of it, return, without attempting to bring them to action, either by aſſault, or turning its right flank or rear; in either of which caſes he muſt have cut his enemy off from his magazines and ſupplies, and have placed him in a ſituation from whence *he could not have eſcaped without ruin.*

We had alſo ſeen the General, after he had proved his force in every action ſuperior to that of his enemy, ſuffer his whole army to be beſieged in Philadelphia, from the month of November to the month of June, *by a feele, ſickly, naked, and half-ſtarved army, of leſs than* 4000 *effective men**.

But further.—We had ſeen the ſame General, with a vanity and preſumption unparalleled in hiſtory, after this indolence, after all theſe wretched blunders, accept, from a few of his officers, a triumph more magnificent than would have become the conqueror of America, without the conſent of his Sovereign or approbation of his country; and that at the time when the news of war with France had juſt arrived, and in the very city, the capital of North America, the late ſeat of Congreſs, which was in a few days to be delivered up to that Congreſs.

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* See a Letter in the Appendix, from a Committee to Preſident of the Congreſs.

Such

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Such was the disgraceful conduct, such the presumption of the General, and such were the misfortunes which he had brought on his country! And yet, had he contented himself with the honours he had received from this mockery of a triumph, he might have pleased himself with dreaming of his triumphal arches, decorated with the mottos of victory, and the emblems of glory, and with his Quixotic tilts and tournaments, and the "Letters to a Nobleman," would never have appeared. But when the author saw the General and his Noble Brother, supported by a dangerous faction, pursuing measures which he conceived tended to involve his country in disgrace and ruin; when he saw them, in order to conceal their own misconduct, attempting to persuade the great representative body of the nation, that America was "the strongest country in the world*," and impracticable in war; that the people were universally disloyal; that the immense naval and military force committed to their command was incompetent to the reduction of the Colonies—in order to prevail on the nation to give up the greatest part of its dominions; the duties of a citizen, a disinterested regard for the welfare of his country, and an honest indignation at so flagitious an attempt, called on him to lay before his fellow subjects a true state of the matters thus attempted to be misrepresented. Such were his motives, divested of every other consideration; and he declares, that the letters were wrote without the solicitation or knowledge of any person whatever in the Administration of Government.

Had the General, by a true state of facts, and by candid argument, free from personal abuse, con-

* See General Grey's Evidence in the Narrative, p. 107.

vinced

vinced me that I was wrong; ever happy to acquit injured innocence, there is no conceſſion, no act of juſtice, which my honour would not induce me to perform; but as the reverſe is the caſe, the ſame motives that influenced me to write the letters, oblige me to vindicate the truths they contain.

In my firſt letter, "On the Strength and Practicability of the Middle Colonies in reſpect to military Operations," in order to refute what the General had attempted to prove, that this part of America was the "ſtrongeſt of all countries in the world," I have given a true and candid deſcription of that country, ſupported by the evidence of General Robertſon, who had reſided in it many years, and which can be ſupported by many gentlemen, now in England, who had lived in it; and I had further made a compariſon between it, and the ſcene of action in the laſt American war, ſhewing that the latter was infinitely more difficult than the former. To evade the force of theſe truths, the General obſerves,

Narrative, p. 37.] "*That the two laſt wars, with "reſpect to the ſtate of the country of America, are in no "degree ſimilar. In the laſt war, the difficulties ariſing "from the ſtrength of the country, were, for the moſt part, "removed by the friendly diſpoſition of the inhabitants, "who all exerted themſelves to facilitate the operations "of the King's army, and to ſupply them with every ne-"ceſſary and accommodation.*"

What theſe "neceſſaries and accommodations" were, which were thus furniſhed in the laſt war, and which the General could not procure, is not mentioned. That the inhabitants furniſhed General Braddock in his expedition to the Ohio, Colonel Bouquet in his expedition to Muſkingum, far beyond the Ohio, and Sir Jeffery Amherſt in his expedition to Montreal, with carriages and proviſions, is true—and with nothing elſe—They wanted no-

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thing elſe. But Sir William Howe did not even want all theſe.—He tranſported carriages with him from England, and whatever more he wanted were procured on Long Iſland and Staten Iſland. Large fleets of proviſions were conſtantly ſent to him; and in every part of the country, where his army marched, he procured a ſupply without difficulty. At Bordentown, Captain Gamble was forming a large magazine of proviſions voluntarily, and with every apparent mark of zeal for the ſervice, brought in by the inhabitants when Trenton was taken; and the whole army was ſupplied, during two months, in its march from the Elk to Philadelphia, with more proviſions than it could conſume: and there was nothing which the country produced, either of neceſſaries or delicacies, during the nine months it remained in Philadelphia, with which it was not furniſhed by the inhabitants.

What then were the advantages which the Generals in the laſt war poſſeſſed, that were not to be commanded in the preſent? There were none. But they had diſadvantages and difficulties infinitely greater to encounter, which their gallantry eaſily overcame. The General's operations were carried on in the Middle Colonies, where every neceſſary was eaſily obtained; but the expedition of Sir Jeffery Amherſt led him to paſs from Albany, by Lake Ontario, to Montreal, near 300 miles, carrying his proviſions either through a wilderneſs or an enemy's country, over lakes, mountains, and ſwamps; and the operations of General Forbes and Colonel Bouquet led him through a wilderneſs inhabited only by Indians, where no ſingle article of proviſions of any kind was to be procured; the firſt to Fort du Queſne, and the other far beyond it, down to Muſkingum; and yet we have found that theſe gallant men, in whoſe hearts the honour of their Sovereign, and the ſervice of their country, were deeply impreſſed,

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preſſed, were not obſtructed or intimidated in the path to glory and ſucceſs by theſe difficulties.

To refute my aſſertion, that "the ſtrength and "impracticability of the Middle Colonies is loſt in "idea, when we compare them with the ſcene of "action in the laſt war," the General adduces the teſtimony of Major-General Grey, who ſays,

Page 38.] *That part of America where I have been, "is the ſtrongeſt country I have ever been in*; it is *every "where* HILLY *and* COVERED WITH WOOD, *inter-"ſected* by ravines, and creeks, and marſhy grounds; "and *in* EVERY QUARTER OF A MILE *is a poſt fit-"ted for* AMBUSCADE." And in his anſwer to another queſtion, he adds, "That America is, of all "countries, the beſt calculated for the defenſive; "*every hundred yards* might be diſputed; at leaſt "that part of it which I have ſeen."

This is a formidable deſcription of the Middle Colonies, and well calculated to furniſh the reader with apologies for the want of ſucceſs in the American war: but it is truly viſionary. What countries the Major-General alludes to, I know not; and yet to prove that he is miſtaken in his facts, will be no arduous taſk. He has ſeen the plains on Long Iſland, of thirty-miles in length, and from ſeven to twelve in breadth, which are without wood, or a ſingle obſtruction that can give one enemy the advantage over another. He has alſo ſeen the country between New York and Trenton, and between the head of Elk and Philadelphia, in which there is not a hill but what may be either aſcended without difficulty, or avoided by an army in its march. And when theſe hills are compared with thoſe of this country, they are by no means ſo high, ſo ſteep, or ſo difficult of acceſs; but when we compare them with the country from Albany to Montreal, and with Conigocheague Ridge, Sideling Hill, Ray's Hill, the Allegheny and Laurel ridge of mountains,

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mountains, which may be juſtly ſtyled the American Alps, they are little more than mole-hills; and yet theſe mountains, though full of ravines and dangerous defiles, and although covered with wood, and poſſeſſed by an enemy whoſe talent in war is ambuſcade, did not intimidate the bravery, nor obſtruct the march of an Amherſt, a Forbes, or a Bouquet; they ſaw them with contempt, and paſſed them in deſpite of their oppoſing enemy.

If the country which the General has ſeen is *every where covered with wood*, where do thoſe immenſe quanties of wheat, rye, barley, Indian corn, oats, and buckwheat, which furniſh the inhabitants with food, and are exported to Europe, find room to grow? Is it poſſible that a country, ſettled one hundred years, and having ſo many hundred thouſands of induſtrious inhabitants in it, can in any degree bear this deſcription, and remain to this day a wilderneſs? I imagine not. The real truth is, that the provinces of New Jerſey and Pennſylvania, where the late operations were carried on, are ſettled, and full of plantations, and at leaſt two thirds, and in many places five ſixth parts of it cleared of wood; and the wood conſiſts of large trees, ſtanding at conſiderable diſtances, free from underwood, and eaſily ſcoured with cannon. As to the "ravines," they muſt be in proportion to the hills which I have deſcribed. The "creeks," or rivulets, are all fordable, or may be paſſed by marching a few miles round; and there are no "marſhes" or fenny grounds within the country. This ground, when cleared, is meadow, and of ſix times the value of upland, and therefore the firſt improved. Theſe are all facts, well known to the people of that country, and which can be proved by many gentlemen now in London. How then can it be poſſible, that this country can be what the General,

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General has attempted to prove in the Houſe of Commons, " the ſtrongeſt country in the world?"

I ſhall now proceed, ſays the General, *with my remarks, page by page.*" As I have no particular objection to this method, I will do myſelf the honour of ſtrictly attending him.

In page 3 of the Letters I have aſſerted, " That in " this country we have lately ſeen two armies, one " meditating its conqueſt, the other its defence. " We have ſeen the Britiſh army penetrating into " its heart, a circuit of near 200 miles, from Long " Iſland by the White Plains, to Trenton, and from " Elk Ferry to Philadelphia, *in defiance of the utmoſt* " *efforts* of an enemy perfectly acquainted with " every advantageous ſpot of ground; and we have " ſeen that army taking with eaſe, and little loſs, " every ſtrong poſt poſſeſſed by the enemy, *who* " *have fled at its approach.*"

Page 39.] " *This deſcription*," ſays the General, " *is introduced to prove, that the country is not* VERY " STRONG, NOR IMPRACTICABLE; *but it only proves*, " *that the Generals and Officers, commanding the ſeve-* " *ral corps, were indefatigable in their duty, and ſur-* " *mounted all the difficulties which they met with in* " *thoſe marches.*"

I have never enquired, nor am I now enquiring, into the conduct of the officers of the army; nor have I ever had any reaſon to do ſo. Whenever led on to action, their conduct has ſhewn that they were actuated by honor and a love of their country; and I therefore acknowledge, that they were indefatigable (that is, not fatigued) in their duty, whenever called to it; becauſe I am confident that many, if not all, would have ſurmounted difficulties ten fold as great as any of thoſe to which they were led, and not think it a *fatigue*. In the whole tenor of my letters, I have only cenſured the indolence and miſ-

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conduct of their leader; my cenſures could not, in juſtice, extend further.

Ibid.] " *The Commander in Chief, however, will* " *be ſuppoſed to have had ſome ſhare in the merit of theſe* " *ſucceſſes.*"

He certainly had; I will not only ſuppoſe it, but frankly confeſs it. Whenever the General found himſelf either diſpoſed, or *under a neceſſity*, of meditating a blow againſt the enemy, he never failed of ſucceſs. At Long Iſland and the White Plains, in the progreſs of the army to the Delaware, and at the Brandywine, he ſucceeded as far as he choſe: had he preſſed the advantages his truly judicious manœuvres gave him, he might have ended the war. I have not cenſured the General for want of abilities; this is a failing for which he ought not to be cenſured; the blame in that caſe would juſtly fall on his employers. My ſtrictures are confined to his non-exertion of thoſe military abilities which were demonſtrated in his manœuvres on Long Iſland and the Brandywine, and that undaunted courage which was ſo apparent in the action at Bunker's Hill.

Ibid.] *But it is not true that the enemy always fled* " *at our approach, nor that we took all their ſtrong poſts* " *with eaſe and little loſs.*"

Here the General takes advantage of the words " always fled," and to ſerve the purpoſe of contradicting me, applies them to all the conduct of the Americans in the general actions. A ſmall ſhare of candour, or a little attention to the paragraph he cites to make out this contradiction, would have taught him, that I did not allude to the battles of Long Iſland, Fort Waſhington, or Brandywine. I had in the ſame paragraph declared, " that the " Britiſh army had penetrated from Long Iſland, " by the White Plains, to Trenton, *in defiance of the* " *utmoſt efforts* of the enemy," including the very inſtances,

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inſtances he mentions; and therefore he might have perceived, that the words "*always fled*" could only refer to thoſe *formidable unfortified* "*poſts*," which are to be found "*in every quarter of a mile*," and even in "*every one hundred yards*," in that country, the beſt of all other countries "*calculated for the defenſive*." And here my expreſſion will be found ſtrictly true; for it is known that the enemy fled at the approach of the Royal army, at Newark, Brunſwick, Princeton, twice at Trenton, near Newport in Newcaſtle county, and at Goſhen in Pennſylvania*; at ſeveral of which places had they been purſued by 5,000 Britiſh, their army muſt have been utterly ruined.

[Ibid "*Much might be ſaid upon the ſtate of loyalty* "*in America. Some are loyal from principle, many* "*from intereſt, many from reſentment; and there are* "*others who wiſh ſucceſs to Great Britain, from a re-* "*collection of the happineſs they enjoyed under her Go-* "*vernment*."

While I expreſs my ſurpriſe at, I cannot help thanking the General for, this candid confeſſion reſpecting the loyalty of the people of America. It amounts to a full acknowledgment of all I have contended for in the letters reſpecting it. The force of the facts I have alledged, has, I truſt, extorted it from him—but, I apprehend, unwarily; otherwiſe he would not have taken up near four pages to diſprove the facts adduced in ſupport of a truth he ſo fully confeſſes. The taſk of reconciling this confeſſion to his attempt, in the Houſe of Commons, to prove that the "Americans were almoſt univerſally diſloyal," I cheerfully leave to thoſe who will undertake it.

* See the General's Letters.

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I had ſaid in the Letters, that ſome, who were high in office in America, in order to juſtify *the neglect and inhuman treatment which his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects had received*, and to throw a veil over that miſconduct which had waſted, unneceſſarily, many millions for the nation, ſacrificed its true intereſt, and loſt its honour, were the inventors of the report of the univerſal diſloyalty of the Americans. To this the General anſwers,

Page 39.] "*I am at a loſs to know what ſpecies of neglect and inhumanity is here meant; I am contented that ſtrictures ſhould be made upon my profeſſional conduct, but I feel myſelf hurt as a man when I am accuſed of inhumanity.*"

Ever pleaſed to do the General juſtice, I will relieve his feelings as a man; and I wiſh I could alſo relieve thoſe which he muſt experience as an officer. There is nothing in my Letters which charges him with doing, *perſonally*, a ſingle act of inhumanity. My ſtrictures were confined to his "profeſſional conduct;" and the ſubſequent part of my Letters explains what I meant by the inhuman treatment which his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects had received; and, as he has miſunderſtood me, I will again explain it. The inhuman treatment alluded to, was the indiſcriminate plunder ſuffered to be committed, by the ſoldiery under his command, on Staten Iſland, Long Iſland, the White Plains, and in the province of New Jerſey, where friend and foe, loyal and diſloyal, met with the ſame fate; a ſeries of continued plunder, which was a diſgrace to an army pretending to diſcipline, and which, while it tended to relax the diſcipline of the troops, could not fail to create the greateſt averſion, even in the breaſt of loyalty itſelf, to a ſervice which, under the fair pretence of giving them protection, robbed them, in many inſtances, of even the neceſſaries of life.

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In vain, I imagine, will the General plead, before the candour and humanity of the public, his orders and proclamations forbidding plunder. Laws without execution, are but a dead letter; and his orders and proclamations, ſo often repeated, without puniſhing the atrocious offenders, were conſidered as blank paper; and the plundering continued as much after as before they were iſſued, until he paſſed into Pennſylvania, where, having made an example or two of the delinquents, the plunder in a great meaſure ceaſed. Had this miſchief been nipped in the bud by a few examples, which might have been eaſily done in an army ſo perfectly ſubmiſſive to diſcipline in every other reſpect as the Britiſh was, the relaxation in diſcipline which loſt Trenton, the impreſſions made on the minds of the Loyaliſts, to the prejudice of the King's ſervice, and the diſgrace that was brought on the honour, juſtice, and humanity of Britan, could not have taken place.

To vindicate himſelf againſt this viſionary charge of perſonal inhumanity, he tells us, page 40, of his great humanity and benevolence to the people of Boſton, and that "*it is upon record (Proclamation 28th October, 1775) that their ſervices were "courted, by recommending a defenſive aſſociation; and "that arms were offered to all who would declare "themſelves willing to contribute their aſſiſtance in the "preſervation of good order and government within the "town of Boſton.*"

What his behaviour was to the people of Boſton, they can beſt inform the public; the taſk I have aſſumed, is, only to enquire into his conduct in the Middle Colonies. Why, then, not tell us of his wiſe and prudent conduct there? Was it becauſe he is conſcious that it was not ſo wiſe and prudent in the Middle Colonies as at Boſton? If this ſenſe of the matter did not prevail with him, it was

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impolitic to mention this proclamation; becauſe it only informs us, that he knew what ought to be done, and did it not. To draw aſſiſtance to the Britiſh force, wherever he operated, was moſt certainly his duty. If the Loyaliſts in Boſton were to be truſted, when aſſociated, with arms, men of the ſame principles were to be equally truſted in the provinces of New York, New Jerſey, and Pennſylvania, where they were more numerous. Why then was there not a like proclamation iſſued in any of theſe provinces? Had this been done, the ſalutary effects are obvious, from an indubitable fact. Since his reſignation, upwards of 5000 Loyaliſts are embodied in arms for the defence of New York. Had this been done, it would have enabled Sir H. Clinton to have led, inſtead of between two and three, at leaſt 8000 men, in a diverſion in favour of the Northern army, and ſaved it; for Sir Henry did not leave more regulars than the number of Loyaliſts, thus embodied, for the defence of New York, when he paſſed up the North River, and found himſelf too weak to proceed. Had this been done, he might, if he did not chuſe to ſupport the Northern army, have taken at leaſt 5000 men more with him to Pennſylvania; a number equal to General Waſhington's whole force, the greater part of the time the two armies were in that province.

And had the like proclamation been iſſued in New Jerſey, when the General was at Trenton, and had driven Waſhington's enfeebled army, of 3000 men, and all the officers of the State, out of the province; and when the General himſelf incautiouſly confeſſes, "that his ſucceſſes had intimidated the leaders of the rebellion, and nearly "induced a general ſubmiſſion*," all thoſe men in

* Narrative, p. 40.

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New Jerſey, who were loyal "from principle, "from intereſt, from reſentment, and from a re- "collection of the happineſs they enjoyed under "the Britiſh Government," would have aſſociated in arms, and formed a ſolid barrier of defence againſt every attempt of the Americans, except that of Waſhington's army.

And had the General iſſued the like proclamation, when in Philadelphia, he would have obtained a militia of 3500 men. Had he invited the people in the peninſula between the Delaware and Cheſapeak, to aſſociate and aſſiſt him in arms; and had he, as he was requeſted, landed a few men to ſupport them, and to furniſh them with arms and ammunition; the 2000 Loyaliſts, who had aſſociated, in leſs than three days, in three of the thirteen counties only, would have been immediately in arms on the part of Great Britain, and no man who is acquainted with the general loyalty of the people of that country, can doubt, but that their numbers would have increaſed, in a month, to 6000, if not 8000 men. Nothing could have been wanting to have carried this meaſure into complete effect, and to have reduced this peninſula to the peace of the Crown, but a ſmall poſt at Wilmington, to cover that country; becauſe, while that poſt remained, Waſhington could not with any degree of prudence, truſt his army, or any part of it, in that peninſula. This would have been a ſnare into which the Britiſh General ought to have led him, and out of which he could not have extricated himſelf: He would in that caſe have been between the aſſociated Loyaliſts and the poſt at Wilmington, where the Britiſh army might have been tranſported by water in one, or have marched by land in two days, from Philadelphia. All theſe truths muſt upon a ſlight view of the chart of that country, ſtrike the military eye with inſtantaneous

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conviction; and yet that invitation and encouragement which he boasts of having published at Boston, was in this country shamefully neglected.

The General acknowledges, in his narrative, p. 54, that he found in Philadelphia 4488 male inhabitants capable of bearing arms. Of this number, there were not fifty who had taken any part against the British government; the rest, being about one eleventh part of the inhabitants, had fled; less than 1000 were quakers: so that, had the General pursued the same wise measure in Philadelphia, which he did at Boston, and which General Knyphausen afterwards pursued at New York; had he suffered the people to have chosen their own officers, and embodied themselves for the defence of the city; a militia of 3,500 men besides the numerous refugees who attended him, would have formed an armed force, which, with a few vessels of war, and 1000 regular troops, would have been a sufficient defence for that city against any force of the enemy, except Washington's army. This would have enabled him to have marched out with his whole force against Washington, while he remained from December to the middle of June, with his reduced, sickly, and half-starved army at the Valley Forge, where that army might have been attacked in their weak entrenchments, or surrounded and besieged, and reduced by famine in one week at farthest, and an end have been put to the contest *.

Page 41 *is employed in entertaining the reader with the profuse liberality of the General towards Mr. Galloway, and with some oblique general charges, striking at his popularity and integrity.*

What either that gentleman's popularity or integrity has to do with Sir William Howe's military conduct, the reader will be puzzled to discern. I

* See the Committee's letter to President of Congress, appendix.

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ſhall not therefore *in this reply*, undertake a vindication of Mr. Galloway's perſonal character. But, at the ſame time, I cannot help obſerving, that general charges againſt either a public or private character, are little better than aſſaſſinations in the dark, againſt which the moſt perfect innocence has no chance of guarding itſelf. The charges againſt the General in my letters are ſo particular, ſpecific, and defined, that he might, if he could, vindicate himſelf againſt them. But his honor, it ſeems, has not led him to deal thus honorably by Mr. Galloway.

In order to prove that many of the Pennſylvanians were attached to the Britiſh government, I have aſſerted, that during our poſſeſſion of Philadelphia, the people of the country, at the riſque of their lives, had ſupplied the Britiſh army, navy, and inhabitants, amounting to not leſs than 50,000 perſons, with all kinds of proviſions, while they refuſed theſe ſupplies to the American General. Theſe facts Sir William Howe does not venture to deny. I thought, and ſtill think, they fully ſupport the matter I wiſhed to prove. In ſo great a conteſt, in the event of which the feelings, the intereſt, and happineſs of mankind, were ſo deeply involved, and their paſſions ſo violently engaged, neutrality of ſentiment or attachment is unprecedented—is impoſſible. Men's opinions and wiſhes will become fixed in favour of one ſide or the other; and I concluded, how reaſonably the reader will determine, that thoſe men who voluntarily ſupplied Waſhington's army againſt their ſovereign, were enemies; and that thoſe who, every mile they paſſed, riſqued their lives, and yet at that riſque ſupplied the King's troops with proviſions, from five to an hundred miles diſtance, were friends and faithful ſubjects. But it ſeems the General is of a different opinion.—Hear his arguments.

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Page 42.] "*That the people of the country brought* "*in freſh proviſions to us, and refuſed ſuch ſupplies, as* "*much as they* DARED, *to the American General, is cer-* "*tain. But I do not admit, that this conduct proceeded* "*from the motives aſcribed by the author. The people* "*of the country had no opinion of the value of Congreſs* "*money. They knew they ſhould receive moſtly hard* "*money in payment; and they had an opportunity of* "*carrying back with them a variety of neceſſary articles.* "*Theſe, I apprehend, were the real motives of all that* "*kind of aſſiſtance which we procured from the country* "*people.*"

What a horrid idea of human nature muſt the General have entertained when he drew theſe concluſions! Would not a little charity have convinced him, that men who were loyal "from principle—from reſentment—from a recollection of former happineſs," and whoſe actions ſtrictly correſponded, were actuated by motives more honourable and more virtuous, than that of acquiring a little money and a few neceſſaries? Can it be poſſible that he could believe, that the honor of "principle," the powerful impulſes of juſt reſentment for injuries ſuſtained, and a lively ſenſe of former "happineſs," of which they had been wantonly deprived, were all effaced by ſuch paltry and tranſitory conſiderations? Did he paſs this ſevere, this cruel judgment on the faithful ſubjects of his Sovereign, and the tried friends of his country, by his own feelings—the teſt of his own actions? Were the Loyaliſts, whom the General, after all the aſſiſtance they had given to him, has thus ungratefully traduced, to retaliate, with how much more reaſon might they ſay, that he had ſacrificed his military fame, his duty to his Sovereign and his fellow ſubjects, and the intereſt and ſafety of his country, to the dirty purpoſes of a faction, whoſe whole conduct is founded on private intereſt and ambition!

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Page 43. "*The Author ſays, they did this at the "riſque of their lives. There was, in fact, that ap- "pearance; but I always ſuſpected that General Waſh- "ington, through policy, connived at this kind of com- "merce.*"

The argument here reſts upon the feeble ſupport of the General's "ſuſpicion," while he acknowledges that "appearance" was againſt that ſuſpicion. If appearance was againſt it, upon what was his ſuſpicion founded? It could not be upon facts; for in that caſe his opinion could not reſt in ſuſpicion. In truth, the facts were all againſt it: for what could induce Waſhington to keep different poſts ſurrounding the Britiſh lines, and conſtant patroles, frequently coming within ſight of them, but to prevent a ſupply of proviſions? Theſe patroles put to death, without heſitation, ſeveral perſons, for no other offence than that of ſupplying the Britiſh troops. Some were tried by a court-martial, and received two hundred laſhes; and others were branded by a hot iron in the hand, with G. H. and ſent into the Britiſh lines, as a mark of contempt of the Britiſh General. And yet all this is not ſufficient to remove his "ſuſpicions" of the diſloyalty of theſe faithful people, nor to induce him to believe that his enemy, who was beſieging him, intended to deprive him of the means of ſubſiſting his troops.

Ibid.] "*The General is at a loſs to underſtand what "I mean by many thouſands of Loyaliſts concealing them- "ſelves in diſtant provinces, and taking refuge among "the ſavages, to avoid entering into the war.*"

I did not mean, as he ſuſpects, "the inſurgents of Carolina;" and if I had, I ſhould have thought that a General who had commanded his Majeſty's army, might have found a word more deſcriptive of a number of Loyaliſts who had taken up arms under the authority of his Majeſty's Governor, to ſupport his

his Government, than the word *insurgent*. However, the men alluded to were those who, when draughted from the militia of the States, rather than serve in their army, fled the provinces from whence they were draughted, into others where they were not known. Many took refuge among the Indians, and have since joined Col. Butler and Capt. Brant, and are now serving against the enemy. This was a common practice; and it was partly owing to this practice, that the continental army has been so small ever since their defeat on Long Island, as not to amount, at any one time, to more than 10,000 men.

To my assertion, "that many thousands came over to the British troops for protection," the General answers,

Ibid.] "*I aver, that at no time did men in numbers "come over to the British troops.*"

Here he does not venture to deny the fact alledged, yet he manifestly intends to mislead the reader. And to do this, he is obliged to add the words, "at no time," and "in numbers." Thus he artfully attempts to avoid a fact which cannot be denied. I did not assert, that thousands came over "at one time," or "in numbers." The General suffered Washington to superintend his lines at New York with so much circumspection, as not to suffer the Loyalists to come in in numbers; and when he went to Pennsylvania, the people were ordered, by his declaration, to "remain peaceably at their usual places of abode."

But had the fact been denied, it could be supported by the number of refugees, persecuted on account of their loyalty, who came from time to time into Philadelphia and New York, many of whom are at this time embodied in corps in his Majesty's service. And it appears from the testimony of Lord Cornwallis (p. 68) that, while the British army was at Trenton and Bordentown, "three or

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four hundred of the inhabitants" came in *every day for ten days*, (that is, while the troops staid there) and received certificates for their protection; and he might have said with truth, that before the taking of Trenton, not less than 7000 had, in the space of three weeks only, received those certificates. But these certificates were of little use to the unhappy people; all who were in or near the British lines were plundered, and the faith of the General pledged to the people by his proclamation, was shamefully violated.

Upon my assertion, That "the foot and cavalry sent over to America, amounted to 52,815; and of that number 40,874 were under the command of Sir William Howe," the General observes,

Page 45.] "*The Author would here impress the "Reader with an opinion, that,* AT THE TIME OF MY "ARRIVAL AT STATEN ISLAND, *my army amounted to* "48,874, and the American army to 18,000, *militia* "*included.*"

The conclusion here drawn from my words, I may venture to assert, never was made by any candid and sensible reader. The words are indefinite as to the time or times when the troops were sent, and convey nothing more, than that all the troops sent over amounted to 52,815, of which troops General Howe had 40,874 under his command. But what could he do? He could not deny the fact; and it was too important an evidence of his indolence and misconduct to be passed over in silence; and therefore he resolves to torture my general expressions to a particular meaning, in order to divert the reader from reflecting on the superiority of his force to that of the Americans. Indeed, I have often occasion to admire the like skill and ingenuity in the course of his observations: for where he cannot safely attack in front, he seldom fails to make use of stratagem to get round his opponent. What pity it is! What millions would have been saved to the nation,

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nation, what heavy diſaſters to his country would he have prevented, had he diſcovered equal ſkill, or the like ſtratagem, in ſurrounding and attacking his inferior and undiſciplined enemy in America!

The art here made uſe of will appear yet more barefaced, when the reader is reminded, that in the Appendix to my Letters, I ſtate his numbers in Auguſt 1776, when he was at Staten Iſland, at not more than 24,000 men. But he contends, that I have exaggerated his numbers; for that when he landed from Staten Iſland on Long Iſland, he had only "20,121 rank and file, of which 1677 "were ſick." To diminiſh his real force, he here gives us only the rank and file, omitting the numerous officers, from himſelf down to a drummer, which generally amount, in every corps, to near one ſixth part of the whole. I am not a military man; my deſign was to lay before my country his real force, that they might form a juſt judgment of his conduct. I have not therefore wrote in a military dialect; and if I had, few of my readers would have underſtood me; and could I believe that I had miſrepreſented his real force in any one inſtance, through the want of that knowledge, it would give me pain. But this I have not done. His own returns laid before the Houſe of Commons, in the laſt year, will prove, that he had at Staten Iſland 24,464 effectives, rank and file, and fit for duty; and in the whole, 26,980, officers not included, who, when added, will amount to 31,625.

Ibid.] He finds much fault with my eſtimate of his real numbers; and adds, "*If I were to follow the* "*Author's mode of computation, when he ſtates the* "*number of men under my command, I ſhould ſay, and* "*from better authority, that General Waſhington had* "*under his command in May, 1776, in the ſeveral pro-* "*vinces, an army of* 80,000 *men;*" and he refers to a return

return of the enemy's ſtrength in May 1776, printed at New York.

The General does not lay any ſtreſs on this ſham return. He knew its fallacy: it was a return of men raiſed, and intended to be raiſed, and which were never raiſed, calculated to give him a formidable idea of the enemy's force; and being ridiculous in itſelf, it is produced to render my eſtimate of his own force ridiculous and falſe. But to expoſe his evaſion of what he does not venture to deny, I will give the reader his real numbers from his own returns. The firſt column ſhall contain the total effectives rank and file; the ſecond, the total army, officers included; the third, that of the American army; that every unprejudiced and impartial reader may compare the Britiſh force with that of the Americans. For, after all our inquiries into the minute tranſactions of any military command, the firſt queſtion of a man of ſenſe will be, what was the reſpective force and diſcipline of the two contending armies?

1776.	Total Effectives, Rank and file.	Total Army, Officers included.	Total American force.
Aug. 9.	24,247	29,308	18,000*
Nov. 22.	26,980	31,755	4,000
Dec.	——	——	3,300†
1777.			
July 17.	30,049	35,047	8,000

Such was the ſtate of the force under Sir William Howe's immediate command, excluſive of the gar-

* General Robertſon ſays, in his examination, the American force was only 16,000.

† See the General's narrative, p. 8. Waſhington attacked Colonel Rhal with his whole force, except Cadwallader's brigade, which did not conſiſt of 500 men; and thoſe were prevented, by the ice, from croſſing the Delaware, and attacking Bordentown, at which place Colonel Donop had left only 80 grenadiers. At this time the remains of Lee's corps had joined Waſhington, who before had not 2800 men.

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riſon at Rhode Iſland, which added, amounts in the whole, to 40,874; and ſuch the numbers of his inferior, and truly contemptible enemy, notwithſtanding, as the General confeſſes, "every compulſory means*" was made uſe of to increaſe them; and yet he ſuffered that enemy, lying in an unfortified poſt, within twenty miles of his quarters, to haraſs and diſtreſs his troops from January to July, without taking a ſingle ſtep to diſlodge them.

The ſame unjuſtifiable indolence and miſconduct attended his proceedings while in Philadelphia. Here the General lay in his quarters all the winter and ſpring, until the month of June; contenting himſelf with ſending out occaſional parties to cover the loyaliſts, who were continually feeding the officers of his army with all the delicacies and luxuries which the country afforded. To ſupport this charge, nothing more will be neceſſary, than to lay before the public a few facts, notorious in America, and to many gentlemen now in England.

Although the General, in page 60, aſſerts that his whole force at Philadelphia was no more than 13,799 rank and file, it does appear, by his own returns, that he had on the 3d of October, after the battle of Brandywine, 15,898 effectives, rank and file; total, rank and file, 17,752; and when the officers are added, 20,680. With this force, a few men loſt in the battle of Germantown excepted, he went into winter quarters in Philadelphia, where he ſays it was "well accommodated."

Waſhington, with about 9000 men, took up his quarters at the Valley Forge, within twenty miles of Philadelphia. Having no houſes for his troops, he was obliged to build uncomfortable huts with round logs, filled in with clay, and covered with looſe

* See his letter to Lord George Germain, February 12, 1777. See alſo his letter, March 5, 1778.

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ſtraw and dirt, in ſuch a manner as not to ſecure them from the weather. This ſituation the General, in his letter of the 5th of March, deſcribes in theſe words: "The American army continues in the "ſame ſituation as when I had laſt the honor of "writing to your Lordſhip, hutted at Valley Forge, "where their men ſuffer exceedingly from the very "inclement weather which has induced numbers to "deſert. The camp diſorder raged among his men, which obliged him to eſtabliſh no leſs than eleven hoſpitals; and many died, many deſerted to their ſeveral provinces, and near 3000 of them came over to the Britiſh army. From theſe circumſtances, his army was reduced, before the month of March, to leſs than 4000 men; and by far the greater part of theſe were in a manner naked; many without ſhoes or ſtockings, and but few, except the Virginians, with the neceſſary clothing *. His horſes were in a condition yet worſe; they were conſtantly expoſed to ſhowers of rain and falls of ſnow both day and night, many of them died; the reſt were ſo emaciated as to be unfit for labour; and in addition to this diſtreſsful ſituation, Waſhington had not in his camp, at any one time, one week's proviſions either for man or horſe, and ſometimes his men were totally deſtitute. †

Waſhington's camp was by no means difficult of acceſs; far leſs ſo than the poſts occupied by him at Brandywine; and in one part of the front the aſcent was ſcarcely perceptible, and his rear was commanded by higher ground. His ditches were not three feet in depth; nor was there a drummer in the Britiſh army, who could not, with the utmoſt eaſe, leap over them; and his defences might have been battered down with ſix-pounders.

* Mr. Galloway's examination, p. 27, 28, 29, 30.

† See a letter, in the appendix, from a committee of Congreſs appointed to enquire into the ſtate of Waſhington's army.

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This is not an exaggerated picture of the American army, nor of the weakneſs of its ſituation. A brief account of it I have given in my letters, page 87, which the General, in his defence, has not denied; indeed, he has thought it prudent to take no notice of it, any more than of many of the moſt important charges contained in thoſe letters. Upon theſe facts I leave the candour of the public to find, if it can be found, a reaſon why the General did not attack, or ſurround, and take by ſiege, Waſhington's whole army. His numbers were greater than thoſe of the Americans, who ſurrounded and took a Britiſh army, under General Burgoyne, of 4000 veteran troops, in a ſituation not ſo diſtreſsful as that of Waſhington.

Numerous are the inſtances in which the General has perverted my meaning to his own purpoſes. I have charged him with "declining to truſt the faithful and loyal ſubjects with arms, or to make uſe of the *well-affected force in the colonies, to aſſiſt him in reducing, or in defending after reduced, either cities or provinces.*" In this charge I alluded to his declining to embody the Loyaliſts, as a militia, in New York, New Jerſey, and Philadelphia. In New York, the militia, which he declined to embody, amounts to 5000 men. In New Jerſey, upwards of fifty of the firſt men in the county of Monmouth, &c. came in to offer their ſervice in diſarming the diſaffected, and to reſtore the province to the peace of the crown: but they could not procure acceſs to the General, although their wiſhes were communicated to his Aid-de-camp. They returned to their reſpective families, chagrined and diſguſted at the *hauteur* of the General; ſome of them, notwithſtanding, are now at New York, under the protection of the Britiſh army, having abandoned their property, hazarded their lives, and ſacrificed the happineſs of their families. At Philadelphia, at leaſt

3,500

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3,500 faithful militia might have been embodied in arms for the defence of that city, while the army operated againſt Waſhington; and had the General at the ſame time cordially invited the Loyaliſts to take up arms, as a militia, in their ſeveral counties, under gentlemen in whom they had a confidence, for the particular purpoſes of ſeizing on and diſarming the diſaffected to Government, and defending their ſeveral diſtricts, the whole province of Pennſylvania, and the extenſive peninſula below, would have been reſtored to the peace of the crown before the end of the campaign.

To parry this charge, the General aſſerts, page 56, "*Many of my proclamations contained invitations "to arms, and promiſes of large encouragement.*" Where theſe proclamations are to be found he has not told us; they never were publiſhed in Pennſylvania, New York, or New Jerſey, and I verily believe they never were written. The proclamation iſſued in 1776, in New Jerſey, containing nothing more than a promiſe of pardon and protection to thoſe who ſhould come in and take the oaths of allegiance; that at the Head of Elk reſted only in promiſing the people protection from the "depredations of his "army," and calling on the diſaffected "to remain "peaceably at their uſual places of abode." The General ſurely cannot here mean the "many pro-"clamations" iſſued within the lines, inviting the people to enliſt in the regular provincial ſervice? This cannot be; becauſe, to uſe his own words, it would be a quibble "which would never have en-"tered into the head of an Engliſh" nor of an American lawyer."

Before I leave the laſt-mentioned proclamation, I cannot, in juſtice to the character of Mr. Galloway, avoid taking ſome notice of a paragraph in

Page 56.] "*As this declaration was calculated for "the meridian of Pennſylvania, of the people of which "province*

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" *province Mr. Galloway profeſſed an intimate know-*
" *ledge, I conſulted him previouſly upon it; I framed it*
" *agreeably to his ideas; when written, it had his full*
" *approbation.*"

Here I hope the General's memory has totally failed him. The facts relating to this tranſaction are truly theſe. While the fleet lay at the Hook, on its way to the Cheſapeak, and not before, Capt. Montreſor brought this declaration, in manuſcript, from the General, to Mr. Galloway, with a requeſt that he would conſider it. Upon the firſt view a number of objections aroſe; he immediately committed them to paper, ſupported with his reaſons. Theſe he returned, with the declaration, to Capt. Montreſor, to be carried back to the General. Upon Captain Montreſor's return, Mr. Galloway aſked, what the General ſaid to his objections. The anſwer was, that they were not admitted; for the declarations had been already printed off at New York.

This is the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Capt. Montreſor, and two other gentlemen, were privy to this tranſaction, whoſe honour I have no doubt, will lead them to confirm it. On this paragraph I ſhall leave the reader to make his own comment, with only obſerving, that the General, in every inſtance where he has taken occaſion to mention Mr. Galloway's conduct and opinions, has been guilty of what charity would lead me to hope are only failures of memory.

The General labours hard, in his narrative, to vindicate his conduct in not ſupporting the northern army. Nor ought we to be ſurpriſed at it, as it was a neglect which ſtrikes the mind on the firſt reflection; a *blunder* to which we owe all our preſent misfortunes. His arguments may be compriſed under three heads. 1ſt, That he had no expreſs orders to ſupport it; 2d, That he had not force ſufficient;

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cient; and, 3d, That his ſouthern expedition was approved by the Secretary of State.

In reply to the firſt argument, ſhould we agree to what he aſſerts, that the expreſs orders to ſupport the Northern army were never received, yet, we know that a letter from Lord George Germain, of the 3d of March, 1777, came to his hands on the 8th of May *. That in this letter he is informed, it was his Majeſty's opinion, "that a warm diver-"ſion ſhould be made on the coaſts of the Maſſa-"chuſetts:" and that the "benefits which muſt in-evitably reſult from it, are pointed out, viz. "That "it will not only tend much to impede the levies" for the continental army, but to the ſecurity of our trade, and would "keep the *Americans at home" for the internal defence of their own reſpective diſtricts.* A more wiſe, or a more neceſſary diverſion, to ſave the Northern army, could not have been deviſed; and had it been performed at the time General Burgoyne paſſed from Ticonderoga towards Albany, it muſt have produced the effects his Majeſty wiſely predicted. Levies never were, nor can be made, in the ſcene and buſtle of war; and men will not leave the defence of their fire-ſides, their principal ſea-ports, and moſt valuable cities, to fight in a different province, and in diſtant woods, where there is nothing to defend.

This diverſion, therefore, had it been made, muſt either have drawn General Gates, with his whole army, to the defence of the capital cities on the ſea coaſt, or at leaſt have detained at home more than one half of thoſe men, which, by this neglect, were enabled to join his army; and in that caſe the Northern army could not have failed of overcoming with eaſe every poſſible difficulty.

* See Letter of this date in the Parliamentary Regiſter, 1779.

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But I will ſuppoſe that no ſuch diverſion had been directed. The General could not but know, that the object of the two armies was the ſame, and that it was the immediate buſineſs of both to form a junction. Was it not then his duty to ſee ſo large and important a reinforcement in a ſtate of ſafety, at leaſt, before he carried his army to a place which deprived him of the power to ſupport? However, it ſeems, notwithſtanding his Majeſty's directions, and the weighty importance of the meaſure, that the General and his Noble Brother "conſulted upon "the expediency of the diverſion *," yet neither made it, nor took any meaſures to ſupport the Northern expedition; in conſequence of which, a Britiſh army paſſed under the yoke of rebellion.

I have hitherto reaſoned upon a ſuppoſition, that the General had no expreſs orders to co-operate with, and join the Northern army; and I truſt, the arguments I have advanced are ſufficient to prove, that, in not doing it, he acted contrary to his manifeſt duty. But, to ſtrip him even of the ſhadow of an excuſe, I will prove that he had thoſe orders, or what fully amounted to them.

On the 25th of September, 1775, he received his commiſſion of Commander in Chief †. On the 9th of October he undertakes to propoſe the plan of his future operations; recommends the evacuation of Boſton, and that a body of 12,000 men be employed "from New York, *to open the communication with* "*Canada in the firſt inſtance*," and that an army of Canadians and Indians from Canada ſhould meet him; and, that "the accompliſhment of the pri- "mary object for opening the communication, be- "ing obtained by the *two armies*, theſe corps might

* Narrative, p. 12.

† See his Letters to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated the 5th of November, and 9th of October, 1775.

"take

" take ſeparate routes into the province of Maſſa-
" chuſet's Bay." And in his Letter of the ſecond of April, 1777, he points out " the advantages that " might ariſe by ſecuring Albany and the adjacent " country."

Strictly conformable to thoſe ideas of the General, Government proceeded. His own army was reinforced with numbers ſo great that it ſtruck him with utter amazement. Another army was formed, and ordered to proceed from Canada to join his troops at Albany. On the 25th of March the Secretary of State tranſmitted to Sir Guy Carleton, at Quebec, the plan of operations for both armies; in which he is ordered " to detach General Burgoyne," and to direct him, " ſo detached, to proceed with all poſſi-
" ble expedition *to Albany, and put himſelf under the* " *command of Sir William Howe*;" and further adds, " with a view of quelling the rebellion as ſoon as " poſſible, it is become neceſſary that the moſt " *ſpeedy junction of the two armies ſhould be effected.*" An official copy of this letter was tranſmitted to Sir William Howe for his information and direction, and was received by him on the 5th of June, ſix weeks before he ſailed on his wild and unfortunate expedition to the Cheſapeak. By theſe letters, the following truths are in full evidence; That the plan of the *Northern operations was the General's written orders* to " effect a ſpeedy junction" of the two armies, and that that junction was to be made *at Albany*. This is ſo plain, that it would be an affront to the reader's underſtanding to ſay more on the ſubject. In vain will the General plead, that he never received his orders. For what end was the official copy of the plan of operations ſent to him? Was it to anſwer no purpoſe? Or was it to ſignify his Majeſty's pleaſure and orders reſpecting thoſe operations? How idle! how truly trifling, then, muſt this part of his defence appear, when the *junc-*

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tion of the two armies was not only conformable to his own plan, but clearly pointed out by reaſon, military duty, and by his Majeſty's orders.

As to his ſecond objection, that he had not force ſufficient, I need only remind my reader, that the General had under his command, on the 17th of of July, 1777, as appears by his own returns, 40,874 men, officers included. His Southern army coſiſted of 20,680: the garriſon of Rhode Iſland required only 2400, as he confeſſes in his ſecret letter of the 2d of April, 1777; his remaining force was 17,794. In the ſame letter, he ſtates as ſufficient for the defence of New York and New York Iſland 3,200, of Paulus Hook 300, of Staten Iſland 1,200: in the whole 4,700. This number, deducted out of 17,794, will leave 13,094, beſides 3000 effectives, of the provincial corps under General Tyron. This will make the force under his command, excluſive of the Southern army, and his neceſſary garriſons 16,094. I will alſo ſuppoſe, which is a very extravagant ſuppoſition, that every ſixth man was an invalid, and it will leave 13,412 effectives, whom he might have applied to the ſupport of the Northern army; but, not inclined to ſupport that army, he left uſeleſs thouſands in the garriſon of Rhode Iſland, and carried with him, in his wild circuitous voyage to the Cheſapeak, as many thouſands, equally unneceſſary; for there was not the moſt diſtant proſpect that the enemy could ever raiſe an army, equal, in effective force, to 10,000 veteran troops.

But further. He acknowledges, page 61, that he "left at New York about 8000 rank and file, fit for duty." I have ſhewn, that he thought 4,700 were competent to the defence of all his garriſons; why then did he not order the remaining 3,800 to make the diverſion on the coaſts of New England, as had been directed by his Majeſty? a force abundantly more than ſufficient, if properly conducted, to have detained

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detained the whole militia of that country in the defence of their capital towns and valuable ſea-ports, which muſt have enabled General Burgoyne to paſs without difficulty to New York.

The third argument remains to be examined. The General, in his Narrative, as well as in Obſervations, repeatedly declares that the Secretary of State approved of his "expedition to Pennſylvania." This aſſertion is of the ſame complexion with that of Mr. Galloway's approving of a proclamation, at a time he had never heard of it. The facts are: In his letter on the 20th of Jan. 1777, he propoſes "to detatch a *corps only* to enter the "Delaware *by ſea*, and the *main body* of the army to "penetrate into Pennſylvania *by way of Jerſey*." This meaſure was founded in the ſoundeſt policy, and juſtified by common ſenſe; becauſe, had it been purſued, Waſhington, having at that time only 8000 men, muſt have fought, or fled before him out of New Jerſey, over the Delaware. Waſhington's ſafety depended on his taking this route; his military ſtores and proviſions were all on the other ſide of the Delaware: cut off from thoſe eſſentials of war, he muſt have given up the conteſt. Waſhington once defeated, or driven over the Delaware, the province of New Jerſey might have been immediately reſtored to the peace of the crown. Philadelphia, altogether without defence by land, and very little better by water, muſt have immediately fallen. A garriſon, more numerous than Waſhington's whole army, might have been left for its defence, and 10,000 men, at leaſt, ſpared to operate up the North River, or on the New England coaſts, in favour of the Northern army. All this might have been accompliſhed with eaſe by the latter end of Auguſt, although the campaign was not opened until the 12th of June; but had he General commenced the operations on the 12th of May, the moſt

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moſt proper month in the whole year for military operations in that part of America, it might have been completed by the latter end of July. This appearing evidently to be practicable, with the force under the General's command, every candid and ſenſible man muſt applaud the council which induced his Majeſty to approve of the plan for invading Pennſylvania, "by the way of Jerſey."

This approbation was communicated by Lord George Germain, in his letter of the 3d of March; but before it could reach* the General, he had altered this judicious plan for one truly ridiculous, and ruinous not only to the Northern army, but his own operations; a plan which muſt neceſſarily have been attended with a great waſte of time, immenſe expence, unneceſſary riſk, and innumerable difficulties. In his letter of the 2d of April, he informs the Secretary of State, that, "from the difficulties "and delay that would attend the paſſing the river "Delaware, by a march through Jerſey, I propoſe "to invade Pennſylvania by ſea; and from this ar-"rangement we muſt probably abandon the Jerſeys, "which by the former plan would not have been the "caſe."

Will the General aſſert, that the Miniſter of the American department ever approved of this material, this miſchievous change, in his plan? Did he ever approve of his abandoning New Jerſey, his embarking on ſhip-board his whole army, and ſubjecting them to all the riſks and dangers of the ſea, without the leaſt neceſſity or reaſon? The American Miniſter is too wiſe, and too well verſed in military ſcience, to have approved of a plan pregnant with ſuch folly and infatuation; if he did, the General is called on to produce ſome proofs of that approbation.

* He did not receive it till the 8th of May.

This

This being the truth, the General will labour in vain to throw the blame of his own military abſurdities upon the ſhoulders of others. The plan was truly his own; and bears ſo ſtrong a reſemblance of his other military operations, that no one acquainted with them can poſſibly doubt it. For by this wretched project the three ſtrong poſts of Brunſwick, Bonumtown, and Amboy, which had been fortified at an immenſe national expence, were to be given up; the province of New Jerſey, which had been ſo lately reduced, was to be abandoned to an enemy conſiſting of leſs than one third of his own numbers: and a Britiſh army, both cavalry and foot, was to be embarked in the hot holds of ſhips, in the hotteſt months of the year, to paſs into a more ſouthern and ſickly climate, and that too at a ſeaſon when contrary winds never yet failed to prevail. All theſe difficulties, together with the dangers and riſks of the ocean, were to be encountered in preference to a march of 58 miles through a fine open country, interſected by a variety of roads, and ſtored with every neceſſary for the accomodation of an army.

But it ſeems, "the difficulties and delays that "would attend the paſſage of the Delaware, and the "want of ſufficient means to paſs ſo large a river*," were the obſtructions to his firſt plan. What will the reader ſay, when he is informed, that this ſo large, and ſo much dreaded river is ever, in the months of June, July, and Auguſt, fordable in a variety of places, between Trenton and Coryel's Ferry, on the different roads to Philadelphia? and yet, if it was not ſo, that it is not, in many places, 300 yards wide; that the ground on the Jerſey ſide commands, in many parts, that on the Pennſylvania ſide,

* Narrative, p. 16.

ſo

ſo that our army might have been perfectly covered by cannon in its paſſage; and that the General had prepared more boats and pontoons, which he carried with him to Brunſwick, than were neceſſary for that purpoſe. Thus circumſtanced, and thus prepared, what would an Amherſt, a Wolfe, or a Bouquet have thought of difficulties ſo truly inſignificant?

As I have now before me Sir William Howe's general plans of operation, I cannot avoid taking notice of his change of opinion. As ſoon as he was appointed, his plan "was to open a communication with Canada, in the firſt inſtance*." Soon after, with much good ſenſe, he reſolves to proſecute the advantages he had gained in New Jerſey, and to go to Philadelphia by land†. This reſolution ſuddenly changes for a worſe, to go by ſea‡. We next ſee him alter this reſolution for one infinitely worſe ſtill, and to be equalled by none, ſave that of going to Philadelphia by way of the Weſt Indies; for he reſolves to go to Philadelphia, by "taking the courſe "of the Cheſapeak." And even in this fourth reſolution he does not continue long, but changes it for his third, and again determines to go up "the "Delaware; and that for a very good reaſon, "in "order to be nearer New York§." And yet, after all this confuſion in opinion, we have ſeen his moſt judicious plan, approved of by his Majeſty, ſet aſide; and another, founded ſolely on his own wild ideas, unapproved of by, and uncommunicated and unknown to, any but his noble Brother and himſelf,

* See his Letter of the 9th of October 1775.

† See his Letter of the 20th of January, 1777.

‡ See his Letter of the 2d of April, 1777.

§ In the laſt paragraph of his Letter, of 16th of July, 1777, he ſays, "I propoſe going up the Delaware, in order to be "nearer this place (New York) than I ſhould be by taking the "courſe to Cheſapeak Bay, which I once intended, and preferred "to that of the Delaware."

and

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and which involved the operations of the campaign in confuſion and ruin, ultimately proſecuted. He led his army, contrary to his own declared opinion, that he ought to be "near New York," round Cape Charles, and waſted the beſt ſeaſon for military operations, from June to September, encountering difficulties and dangers, which the plan approved of by his Majeſty muſt infallibly have avoided. Such was the ſtrange and fatal verſatility of the General's councils and conduct! It would be endleſs to take notice of all the miſtaken and miſtated facts, and the many diſingenuous arguments, adduced by the General in his Vindication. I ſhall therefore in future content myſelf with giving brief anſwers to many of them, dwelling only on the groſſer blunders in his conduct.

He takes much pains to vindicate himſelf againſt the charge of not opening the campaign before the month of June. He begins with contradicting my aſſertion, in the Letters, that the American levies never could join the army before that month; and avers, that their levies "joined early in the ſpring." Now this was not the fact; and it will be eaſy to convince the reader of its impoſſibility, The American army conſiſted of more than three-fourths Iriſh and Scotch, and leſs than one-fourth native Americans*. The firſt generally came from the back parts of Pennſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina; the ſecond principally from the diſaffected New England colonies: ſo that at leaſt three-fourths of the new levies had from two, to five and ſeven hundred miles to march. The inclemency of the ſeaſon prevented them from ſetting out from the Southward until the beginning of April, and later from the Northward; and therefore they could not join the army "early in the

* Mr. Galloway's Examination, p. 22.

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" ſpring*." The time of their junction, a ſmall part from the Middle Colonies excepted, was about the beginning of June; before which time, however reduced the number of the enemy might be, the General would never begin his principal operations.

But he ſays, " *We had not forage in quarters; nor* " *could we have carried any quantities for eſſential* " *ſervice.*"

If he had not forage in quarters, on what did his horſes ſubſiſt? they were always in high order. In his campaign of 1777, he might have commanded all that Long Iſland, Rhode Iſland, and Staten Iſland produced; and in that of 1778, had he choſe to open it before he reſigned his command, all that the environs of Philadelphia afforded, which was immenſe. And could he not have carried a fortnight or three weeks forage, or ſufficient to enable him to have attacked his enemy, lying not more than a day's march from his quarters? He had horſes and carriages ſufficient, and might have had more. Sir Jeffery Amherſt carried the proviſions for his army from Lancaſter to Montreal; General Forbs, from Lancaſter to Fort Pitt; and Colonel Bouquet, from Lancaſter, upwards of three hundred miles, to Muſkinguam. But the true anſwer to all theſe weak apologies for his indolence, is, that the country was, at all ſeaſons of the year, plentifully ſtored with dry forage; and that a ſuperior army may procure it, if the commander of it chooſes, from the ſame parts and places where it is daily obtained by the inferior; and more eſpecially where the

* In his Letter of the 19th of April, he ſays, " Their force has " been diminiſhed, during the courſe of the winter, by deſertion, " and by detachments to the back ſettlements;" but he does not ſay a word of their receiving reinforcements, which a General, ſo expert in apologies for his indolence, we may preſume, would have done, had any joined the enemy's army at that time.

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country is generally diſaffected to that inferior army: beſides, it is well known to the people of that country, that the green forage, with which it abounds, is ſufficiently grown to ſupport cavalry, by the latter end of April. In a country thus poſſeſſed of dry and green forage, the General's horſes could have run no riſk. But there was a magnanimity which diſcovered itſelf in all his conduct, and which, if the real lovers of their country will not commend, his friends, in the oppoſition to Government, will ſupport and applaud! He ſcorned to imitate the *raſh impetuoſity of men*, who, too deeply impreſſed with the principles of honour, and the deſire of fame, regard no difficulties; he therefore would never purſue the enemy whom he had defeated, nor attack him when unprepared; nor would he open the campaign until the levies of his enemy were joined.

So much for the campaign in 1777. He next attempts to juſtify his indolence in 1778. Here he apprehends that "he need not ſay much in his vin-"dication, becauſe VERY *early in April* he received "his *orders to return home.*"

The terms "*very early*" in April, are founded in miſtake. He did not receive a permiſſion from his Majeſty to return until the 14th of that month *; nor did he reſign his command until the 24th of May, near ſix weeks after. He continued, during that time, ſhameſully inactive in his winter quarters, notwithſtanding in the ſame letter which conveyed the leave to reſign, he was ordered by his Majeſty, "whilſt he continued in command, to lay hold of "every opportunity of putting an end to the war, "by a due exertion of the force under his orders." The only movement of any conſequence, during that ſix weeks, is not mentioned in his letters; however, as this exploit ought not to be concealed from the public, I will relate it.

* See Parliamentary Regiſter, 1779.

On

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On the 19th of May, the Marquis de la Fayette, with the main force of Washington's army, from Valley Forge, crossed a bridge over the Schuylkill, and took post at Norrington. Intelligence of this movement was immediately communicated to the General. Pretending to shew a desire to do something before his departure, he marched out with a large part of his army, in two columns, as if he really intended to attack the enemy. The first column, unperceived and unsuspected, moved in a circuit round the enemy's post, and got perfectly in his rear, within sight of his corps, and considerably nearer the bridge, over which only the Marquis could possibly return, while the other column advanced towards the enemy's front. Thus completely entrapped, the Marquis gave up all as lost; he expected his retreat would have been instantly cut off. Washington, despairing of the safety of the flower of his army, immediately prepared to fly, with his remaining non-effectives, baggage, and artillery, to be drawn by a few starved and emaciated horses, towards the Susquehannah; and nothing was wanting but a small share of military exertion, or, perhaps, inclination to take or destroy the chief force of the American army. But here again, as at Brunswick, Trenton, Hillsborough, Brandywine, and German Town, the enemy was suffered to make a yet more fortunate escape. The first column, instead of pushing towards the bridge, in a good road leading to it on the right, and cutting off the enemy's retreat, while the other should advance, and attack in front, was marched to the left, in a route more distant from the bridge, and thus, instead of intercepting the enemy, fell into his rear. The other column, under the immediate command of the General himself, *leisurely* advanced in front. The passage to the bridge was left open; and the Marquis, having recovered from his panic and

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and deſpondency, made good his retreat without loſs, and unmoleſted.

The words "*orders to return*" are diſingenuous, and evaſive of the fact. They convey the idea, that the General was removed from his command contrary to his wiſh; when the truth is, that as ſoon as he had done *as little good, and as much miſchief as poſſible*; as ſoon as he had depreſſed the ſpirits of the Loyaliſts, by his inacceſſibility, his injudicious appointments, his neglect of them when riſing in arms in his favour, and the indiſcriminate plunder made by his army; as ſoon as he had revived, by his diſgraceful attempts and retreats, that ſpirit of reſiſtance which he had ſo lately depreſſed; as ſoon as he had, by his manifeſt breach of military duty, and the explicit orders of his Sovereign, ſacrificed a Britiſh army; as ſoon as he had overcome the heſitation and reluctance of the Houſe of Bourbon, and prevailed on it, by the indolence of his operations, openly and avowedly to ſupport the Americans; I ſay, as ſoon as he had, with art and addreſs, brought this load of ignominy on the Britiſh arms, and theſe accumulated evils on his country, and not before, he petulantly inſiſted on his reſignation.

The reaſon aſſigned for his reſignation is ſo indecent and groundleſs, that I will give it to the reader in his own words. "*From the LITTLE ATTENTION, my Lord, given to my recommendations, "ſince the commencement of my command, I am "led to hope that I may be relieved from this very "*painful ſervice*, wherein I have not the good fortune to enjoy the neceſſary confidence and ſupport of my ſuperiors, *but which, I conclude, will "be extended to Sir Henry Clinton, my preſumptive ſucceſſor. By the return of the packet*, I humbly re-

* See his Letter of the 28th of October, 1778, to Lord George Germain.

"queſt

" queſt I may have his Majeſty's permiſſion to re-
" ſign." In what this want of attention to his recommendations conſiſted, is not mentioned. If we look into the correſpondence between the Secretary of State and the General, we ſhall not find it there; for in that it will appear, that if the General recommended a favourite to his Majeſty, he was ſure to receive promotion, and, to incite and oblige him, if honour conferred, and a ſenſe of gratitude could oblige him, to do his duty, the order of Knighthood was beſtowed by his Sovereign on himſelf. And when we conſider his wanton and extravagant demands for more force, with the exertions made by Government to gratify him, we ſhall find, that his complaint of a want " of the confidence and ſupport of his ſuperiors," was made without the leaſt foundation.

When the meaſures for reducing the revolted Colonies were reſolved on, and the General was appointed to the command, ſuch was the diſpoſition of Government to gratify him in whatever he ſhould deſire, that the Secretary of State declared, " the " meaſures of force ſhould be the wiſhes of the " General." The General, who was then in America, and had the ſtate of the rebellion before him, was the beſt judge of the force which would be competent to its ſuppreſſion; on his judgment, therefore, Government relied; and, inſtead of ſtinting, ſurpaſſed his wiſhes. In his letter* to the Secretary of State, after long and mature deliberation, he only requires 19,000 men, which, he ſays, will be " adequate to an active offenſive campaign " on the ſide of New York and Rhode Iſland." To combat this force, he apprehended the Americans " would not have leſs than 10,000 men on the

* See his Letter of the 26th of November, 1775.

" ſide

" ſide of Rhode Iſland, and 20,000 men to act " againſt General Carlton on one hand, and the " New York corps on the other." Inſtead of 19,000 men, he was furniſhed with 31,476; and, although he expected to meet a force of 30,000 men, the whole American army did not amount to 18,000. With the force now ſent, and which amounted to 11,000 men more than he required, the General appears to be more than ſatisfied, and declares his " utter aſtoniſhment at the uncommon " exertions" of Government; and yet, in his letter of the 25th of September, 1776, after he had defeated his enemy, and taken, killed, and diſperſed more than half of his force, he begins his extravagant requiſitions; and, with a manifeſt deſign to diſtreſs Government, he requires " ten line of battle " ſhips, with a number of ſupernumerary ſeamen, " for manning boats." Would any perſon ſuſpect, that, at this time, the Admiral had ſixty-five ſhips of war; thirteen carrying from 50 to 70 guns, twenty-eight frigates, and thirty-four ſloops; and that the whole force of America was no more than three frigates and ſix ſloops of war? To what uſe did the General mean to apply the additional " ten ſhips of the line," which could not be performed by the force already under his brother's command? Was it to batter down the fortifications of the enemy's ports and harbours? We know they had none. Was it to penetrate up their ſhoal and narrow rivers, when he had ſo many frigates, and ſloops of war, only proper for that ſervice? Did he want them to defeat the truly contemptible naval force of the enemy, when the Admiral had upwards of ſixty veſſels of war under his command?

It will be as impoſſible for us to conceive to what uſe the General intended to apply the " ſupernu- " merary ſeamen." His Noble Brother had not leſs than 12,000 mariners on board the ſhips of war and

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and tranſports then under his command. Surely, out of ſo great a number, men ſufficient might be ſpared to man his boats, at any time, and upon any occaſion; and yet, notwithſtanding the unreaſonableneſs of theſe demands, more ſhips, and of a better and more uſeful ſize, than was aſked, were ſent over, viz. one ſhip of 44 guns, ten of 32, one of 28, and one of 8 guns.

The General, page 41, acknowledges, that when Mr. Galloway came over to the army, in December, 1776 (which was on the firſt day of that month) "his great ſucceſſes had intimidated the leaders of "the rebellion, and nearly induced a general ſub-"miſſion." And indeed this confeſſion, however unwarily made, was ſtrictly true; for further oppoſition was univerſally deſpaired of by all America, except a few deſperate men in Waſhington's army, and that army was reduced to leſs than 3,500 men. And yet at this very period, viz. on the 30th of November, he* makes an additional demand of 15,000 rank and file; and, in his letter of the 20th of January, this demand is increaſed to 20,000: and he declares, that this number "would by no means ex-"ceed his wants; yet 15,000 will give us a ſupe-"riority."

The reader will be as much at a loſs to diſcover to what uſe the General would have applied this additional 20,000 men, as he has been in reſpect to the ten ſhips of the line. Both of theſe demands, when his force is conſidered, will appear equally extravagant and unneceſſary. He had then, as appears by his own returns, 31,476 men, officers included, and the whole continental force did not amount to 3,500; and yet, in compliance with this

* See his Letters of the 30th of November, 1776, and the 20th of January, 1777.

extravagant

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extravagant and wanton requiſition, ſo far as it was poſſible to be complied with, 7,800 troops were, with all expedition, ſent over to him.

The General, it ſeems, did not make this extravagant demand without aſſigning a reaſon for it. Reaſons, or what he thought would carry the weight of reaſons, were always at hand, when the Miniſter could receive no ſtate of facts but by the packets under the General's command, and when all letters from America were liable to his inſpection. Perhaps Government never committed a greater miſtake, than that of ſuffering the line of intelligence, from countries where its ſervants are employed, to be taken out of the hands of the confidential officer. It enables its own ſervants to miſrepreſent the ſtate of the country, the diſpoſition of the people, the numbers of the enemy, and to put what gloſs they pleaſe on their own miſconduct, without a poſſibility of detection; and from theſe miſrepreſentations it has often happened, that men have met with applauſe, when, in juſtice, they ſhould have received condemnation and diſgrace.

But the reaſons aſſigned were groundleſs and romantic. In his letter of the 12th of February, he informed the Secretary of State, that "the Americans have proſpects of bringing an army into "the field of *more than* 50,000 men. They are "moſt ſanguine in their expectations, and, conſcious that their whole ſtake depends upon the ſucceſs of the next campaign, uſe every compulſory "means to thoſe who do not enter *voluntarily* into "ther ſervice;" and yet, notwithſtanding all this ſanguineneſs of expectation, and theſe "compulſory means," we know, that inſtead of "more "than 50,000 men," they were not able to bring into the field, when the General met their force at Hillſborough, more than 8000; and even at the Brandywine not more 16,000, militia included; af-

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ter he had, contrary to all policy, given them two months to recruit their feeble army by every poſſible exertion.

It thus appears, that if the reinforcement ſent fell ſhort of the force required by the General, the expected reinforcement of the enemy, which was the reaſon aſſigned for that requiſition, failed in a much greater proportion; more than one-half of the force required was ſent, and not more than one-fifth of that of the enemy's was raiſed. The account of the force ſtood thus in 1777: Britiſh 40,874 veteran troops; American regular army at Hillſborough, 8000; at Brandywine, 11,000; and, in the ſpring 1778, at the Valley Forge, not 4000 undiſciplined troops. With what juſtice, then, can the General complain of his want of force, and how ſhameleſs and bare-faced is his attempt to throw the blame of his own miſconduct on that Adminiſtration, which has, by ſuch "uncommon exertions," thus gratified him in his extravagant requiſitions?

Pages from 50 to 59 are employed in attempting to prove *that the people of America are almoſt univerſally diſloyal, and that he did every thing in his power to encourage them to take up arms, without ſucceſs.*

Here he aſſerts, that the "only attempt" made, by a body of men, to aſſiſt in ſuppreſſing the rebellion, was in North Carolina, in 1776. Did the General never hear of two different bodies, who took arms in favour of Government, at different times, in the peninſula between the Deleware and Cheſapeak? Did he never ſee, or hear of the proclamation iſſued by the Congreſs, to ſuppreſs them? If he did not, all America ſaw it, and the people of Britain may alſo ſee it. Did he never hear, that, in ſeveral counties above Albany, the Loyaliſts, being by far the greater number, prevented the diſaffected from joining Gates, when going againſt General Burgoyne? This was a fact

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known to thouſands within his own lines. Did he never hear of the numerous offers made to Mr. Galloway, while the General was at Philadelphia, by the gentlemen of many counties, to take up arms, to diſarm the diſaffected, and to reſtore their reſpective diſtricts to the peace of the crown? He certainly did.

"The people of Staten Iſland, he confeſſes, (page 50) "teſtified their loyalty by all the means "in their power;" and General Tryon, and ſome other gentlemen, "who had taken refuge on board "ſhip, informed him of the loyal diſpoſition of the "people of New York and New Jerſey, &c." But it ſeems General Tryon, who had been many years Governor of the province, and the other gentlemen, who had lived long in New York, were all miſtaken.

In order to account for the abſurdity of his extenſive cantonments, he acknowledges, it was to "cover the county of Monmouth, *in which there* "*are many loyal inhabitants.*" But here again the General found himſelf miſinformed; Governor Tryon, and a number of other gentlemen of New York, had before, as I have mentioned, deceived him. And now General Skinner, whom he warmly recommends to his Majeſty's favour, who was the Attorney-general of the province, and from whom he muſt, or ought to have taken his information reſpecting the people of Monmouth, was alſo miſtaken. Theſe gentlemen, it ſeems, knew little about the diſpoſition of the people of the country in which the moſt of them were born, and in which they had lived from their infancy; for, ſays he, "*many*, very "*many* of the people of Monmouth were taken in "arms againſt us, with my protections in their "pockets." Had the General ſaid *ſome*, and *but few*, of the people of New Jerſey had acted in this manner, he would have been much nearer to the

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fact. Among the 6000 people who came in and took the oaths, ſome were, it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, diſaffected, but even theſe, we ought to ſuppoſe would have kept their oaths, had not the proclamation been ſhamefully violated on the part of the General. The plunder was ſo indiſcriminate, and ſo exceſſive, that men were robbed of their all; and it was theſe diſaffed men, made deſperate by the breach of public faith, and injuries which they had ſuſtained, who were taken in arms, with his protections in their pockets, and none others. Let Britons, for a moment, ſuppoſe, that the military, who were ſent into the city of London to protect their perſons and properties againſt the violence of the late mob, inſtead of affording them that protection, had robbed their houſes, and polluted their wives and daughters; would they have tamely ſubmitted to ſuch outrages? Would their hearts have felt no diſpoſition to oppoſe ſuch enormous wickedneſs? Their ſenſibility will anſwer theſe queſtions. Indeed it is impoſſible for language to deſcribe the miſchiefs and diſgrace which the want of diſcipline in the Britiſh army, in this reſpect, brought on the ſervice; and men who are acquainted with it, are ſurprized that it had not produced, what, from many circumſtances, it is probable was intended, an univerſal revolt of all the Coloniſts.

As another inſtance of the diſloyalty of the Americans, the General ſays, "Several corps were offered to be raiſed, and were accepted, in the winter 1776, to conſiſt of 6500 men; but in May, 1778, the whole number amounted to only 3609, including the brigades of Delancy and Skinner; a little more than half the promiſed compliment." The gentlemen who offered to raiſe theſe corps, expected that the General would have opened the field for recruiting. When they looked at his force,

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they ſaw it was practicable; but they were deceived by the indolence and miſconduct of the General. Brigadier General Skinner's brigade was to have been raiſed in New Jerſey. This province the General had ſhamefully given up. Brigadier General Delancy's corps was to have been raiſed in the province of New York, which he expected would have been open to his recruiting parties. But the General contented himſelf with the poſſeſſion of Long Iſland, Staten Iſland, and the Iſland of New York; and, moreover, ſuffered his enemy, who had not 6000 effective men to haraſs and beſiege him in his quarters, during the whole recruiting ſeaſon. When theſe facts are candidly conſidered, together with the ſmall number of Americans within the Britiſh lines, the man of ſenſe, who will reflect how few men in a ſociety are willing to ſubject their perſons to the dangers of war, and to military diſcipline, will be ſurprized at the numbers enliſted under ſuch diſadvantages, and within ſo ſmall a compaſs of territory; and will confeſs, that it is a ſtrong proof of the loyalty of the people.

At Philadelphia, the General inſinuates that he had made the ſame experiment on the loyalty of the people. "Mr. William Allen, a gentleman "who was *ſuppoſed* to have *great family influence* in "that province; Mr. Chalmers, much reſpected in "the three lower counties on Delaware, and in "Maryland; Mr. Clifton, the chief of the Roman "Catholic perſuaſion, of whom there were ſaid to "be many in Philadelphia, as well as in the Ame-"rican army, ſerving againſt their inclinations, were "appointed commandants of corps." And what was the ſucceſs of theſe efforts? He tells us, "they "only amounted to 800 men, including three troops "of light dragoons, conſiſting of 132 troopers."

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All this is plauſible in appearance, but fallacious in reality. It was the duty of the General to enquire after popular characters for theſe appointments; but he ſought the moſt unpopular. Mr. Allen was a young gentleman, whoſe family influence was conſiderable among the Republican party, before they ſubverted the proprietary government, and threatened to ſeize on the proprietary eſtate; but, after theſe circumſtances took place, that influence was loſt; he had been alſo a Colonel in the American ſervice, in the Canada expedition. I do not mention theſe circumſtances to prejudice Mr. Allen, becauſe I now believe him, from conviction, to be a loyal ſubject; but yet, a character thus circumſtanced was not the perſon under whom the General could, in reaſon, expect the Loyaliſts would inliſt. Mr. Chalmers, a gentleman from Maryland, who came into the Britiſh army at Elk, though much reſpected in Maryland, was unconnected, and without any influence, in Philadelphia. Colonel Clifton, if poſſible, had leſs influence, except among the Roman Catholics; and of theſe there were not 200 men capable of carrying a muſquet; beſides, here, as in New York, during the whole ſeaſon for recruiting, he ſuffered Waſhington's parties and detachments to ſurround his lines, and render it impoſſible to recruit in the country. Such were the gentlemen appointed, and ſuch the embarraſſments under which the recruiting ſervice laboured in Philadelphia; and yet the General acknowledges, that, during his ſhort ſtay in that city, where he found only 4482 males, from eighteen to ſixty years of age, of whom near 1000 were Quakers, he raiſed 974 rank and file, and, officers included, upwards of 1100.

The General ſays nothing of Mr. Galloway's troop of Philadelphia light dragoons; it did not ſuit

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ſuit his purpoſe. That very *unpopular* gentleman offered to raiſe a regiment of horſe, but he could procure a warrant for raiſing a troop only. This corps was expeditiouſly raiſed; in two months they were complete, and ſo well diſciplined as to be reviewed by the General, and greatly applauded for their diſcipline. It is known in that country, that his influence among the Loyaliſts was ſuch, that he could have raiſed a regiment in nearly the ſame time, notwithſtanding the embarraſſments under which the recruiting ſervice then laboured. But the General declined making uſe of Mr. Galloway's influence in the recruiting ſervice, and preferred to it that of an unpopular country tavern-keeper, for whom he thought his ſervants in the kitchen the moſt proper company. This man received a warrant to raiſe a troop, and now mixes with gentlemen of rank in the army. Such were the judicious appointments of the Commander in Chief in Philadelphia!

To the charge, that no ſtep was taken by the General to embody the friends of Government in New Jerſey, who were anxious and deſirous to be employed in diſarming the diſaffected, and in defending the country when the army ſhould proceed in its other neceſſary operations, he anſwers,

Page 53.] "*I never heard of the anxiety and readi-*
"*neſs here expreſſed.*"

If the General never heard of the anxiety and readineſs here expreſſed, it was becauſe he would not. It is a fact which I have mentioned before, and will here again repeat, that upwards of fifty gentlemen, of well-known principle and untainted loyalty, ſome of them from the *diſloyal county of Monmouth*, came into the lines of Trenton, with deſign to offer their ſervices in the before-mentioned meaſures; but the General was inacceſſible; they could not, after ſeveral days attendance, procure an audience.

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ence. Some of them returned home, chagrined and diſguſted, and others are now in New York, taking refuge under the protection of the King's forces. But if the General had really the reduction of the rebellion at heart, why did he not ſet up the King's ſtandard, and call on the Loyaliſts of that country to aſſiſt him in arms? Why did he reſt on his proclamation, with promiſing them protection, and then ſuffering that promiſe to be violated in thouſands of inſtances? Did he expect that the Loyaliſts would impertinently offer their aſſiſtance to a General who would not deign to aſk it, and who ſuffered his troops to plunder the inhabitants to a degree more exceſſive than ever was known, under a prudent General, in an enemy's country? Did he believe, that, by ſuch meaſures, he ſhould attach even the well-diſpoſed to the cauſe he was engaged in? Did he imagine that it was poſſible to execute his truſt, in reducing a country ſo extenſive, without making uſe of the well-affected force in it, and whilſt he was purſuing the moſt effectual meaſures to turn that force againſt himſelf? If he did, he acted upon principles contradicted by common ſenſe, and the practice of all other Generals who ever deſerved the applauſe and rewards of their country.

In page 54, the General next attempts to prove that the inhabitants of Philadelphia were not "*anxious*" to promote the King's ſervice, even without "carrying arms."

He tells us, that labourers were wanted to conſtruct the redoubts at Philadelphia; and he applied to Mr. Galloway to procure them. He preſumes Mr. Galloway exerted himſelf; and yet, "with all his aſſiduity, and "the means made uſe of by the chief engineer," the whole number that could be prevailed on to aſſiſt him, amounted, each day, upon an average, to no more than between ſeventy and eighty.

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This tranſaction, like every other mentioned in his Defence, is groſsly miſrepreſented. Mr. Galloway was applied to, by the chief engineer, to procure the labourers. Near one hundred were immediately procured. The wages offered were 8d. *per diem*, and a ſalt ration; but for theſe the men would not labour. The common wages, in the city, were from 5s. 6d. to 6s. ſterling, *per diem*, Beef was ſold at 2s. 6d. *a* 3s. *per* pound; mutton at 2s. *a* 2s. 6d.; cheeſe at 8s.; and bread at a price equally high. The men had families to feed. The General was ſolicited to raiſe their wages, but he obſtinately and inhumanly refuſed! the men deſerted their work, and the officers declared they could not blame them. Very different was the conduct of Lord Cornwallis, when he applied to Mr. Galloway to repair the too long neglected dykes of the Province Iſland. Mr. Galloway recollecting the former conduct of the General, informed his Lordſhip, that he could not undertake the buſineſs, unleſs the men were to receive reaſonable wages; and that he ſhould aſk no more than he had given for the like work in time of peace; although the price of labour was riſen nearly two-thirds more. His Lordſhip replied, the work muſt be done, and, without heſitation, aſſented to the propoſal. Near fifty men were immediately procured, at a Spaniſh dollar *per diem*, a ſalt ration, and a pint of rum; the latter, becauſe they were obliged to work in water. The buſineſs was done in ſix days, much to his Lordſhip's declared ſatisfaction; and then, and not till then, could the chief engineer make any conſiderable progreſs in erecting the main battery againſt Mud Iſland fort.

In pages 59, 60, *the General endeavours to extenuate the plunder, and other enormities committed by the ſoldiery in America. He aſſerts, that* "*there never was* "*leſs plunder, nor fewer enormities, committed by any* "*army*

" *army in the field*;" *and intimates, that the newſpapers in America, like thoſe of other countries, are the vehicles of invention and calumny, upon which theſe enormities are grounded.*

I ſincerely wiſh, for the credit of human nature, as well as for the General's credit, that this repreſentation were juſt; but all, and more than I have ſaid in my letters to a nobleman, reſpecting indiſcriminate and exceſſive plunder, is known to thouſands within the Britiſh lines, and to a number of gentlemen now in England; and in reſpect to the rapes, the fact alledged does not depend on the credit of newſpapers. A ſolemn enquiry was made, and affidavits taken, by which it appears that no leſs than twenty-three were committed in one neighbourhood in New Jerſey; ſome of them on married women, in the preſence of their helpleſs huſbands; and others on daughters, while the unhappy parents, with unavailing tears and cries, could only deplore the ſavage brutality. Theſe affidavits are on record in America; and printed copies of them are now in London. Such were the meaſures purſued by the General, to reconcile his Majeſty's deluded ſubjects to his government, and to encourage the Loyaliſts to ſupport the cauſe of their Sovereign!

In page 61, *the General adduces the evidence of Major-general Grey, to prove that the Cheſapeak expedition occaſioned* " A POWERFUL DIVERSION IN FA-" VOUR OF THE NORTHERN ARMY."

How powerful this diverſion was, the world already knows; it loſt the very army it was intended to ſave, if it can be poſſible that ſuch was the intent. But I will more particularly conſider the force of the Major-general's evidence, in ſupport of the fact alledged by the Commander in Chief.

" *I think*," ſays the Major-general, " *a ſtronger* " *diverſion could not have been made than that of draw-*

" *ing*

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" *ing General Washington, and the whole Continental* " *army, near* 300 *miles off.*"

From this mode of expreſſion, the reader may poſſibly apprehend that Waſhington was drawn 300 miles more diſtant from the Northern army. But the Majoy-general could not poſſibly mean this; the fact being, that Waſhington was only drawn, except for a few days, from Quibbe Town to the Schuylkill, 50 miles more diſtant; and, to perform this truly ridiculous diverſion, he carried his army, by ſea, at leaſt 700 miles, againſt trade-winds, and, as he confeſſes himſelf, through a " very difficult navigation*." The conſequences were foreſeen by every man of common reflection. The carrying the main Britiſh force at ſo great a diſtance from the Northern Colonies, inſpired the Americans with new hopes and ſpirits, and contributed greatly to increaſe their numbers, under Gates, againſt the Northern army. It waſted two months of the campaign, deſtroyed many, and rendered the remainder of the Britiſh horſes totally unfit for ſervice; and occaſioned the deſtruction of a number of veſſels and ſtores, which, " it ſeems," could not be removed from the head of Elk†.

But to ſhew the folly of this extraordinary manœuvre, I will candidly lay before the public a true ſtate of the Britiſh and American force at this conjuncture, and their reſpective poſitions.

General Burgoyne was on his route from Canada to Albany, where Sir William Howe was ordered to form a junction of the two armies.

Waſhington was at Quibbletown, 200 miles diſtant from the place where the Northern army muſt meet the enemy, and where it was taken; the General's force was at New York, 40 miles nearer,

* See his Letter of the 30th of Auguſt, 1777.
† Sir William Howe's Letter, October 10, 1777.

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and in a manner between the Northern army and Washington.

Washington's army could not have passed to Albany by water; he had not shipping nor craft; nor could it have marched by land in less than a fortnight; and that only by one road, leading through a gap of the mountain. General Howe had an immense fleet of men of war and transports, sufficient to carry his whole force to Albany in *one week*.

Washington, when at Quibbletown, lay about nine miles from Brunswick, with his front on the Raritan, which, at that time, and in that place, was not fordable, and his rear was accessible with ease. General Howe, at the same time at Brunswick, instead of marching to Hillsborough, on the south side of the Raritan, as if dreading his force, might have passed in a good road, on the north side, not more than fourteen miles, and perfectly encompassed his enemy.

Washington's army was composed of new raised and undisciplined troops, commanded by inexperienced officers; they were a corps which had been defeated in every action, strangers to victory, and dispirited. Sir William Howe's army were Britons and Germans, perfectly disciplined, and commanded by brave and experienced officers, who had carried victory and conquest with them wherever they had trod, whose spirit had been exalted above the effects of fear by numerous and recent successes.

Washington commanded, by Sir William Howe's own exaggerated account, only 10,000 men; and, by his own returns, it appears he had under his immediate command, at New York, 40,784; and when we look at his own distribution of the force necessary for his garrisons, we find 7100* sufficient for

* Sir William Howe's secret Letter, of the 2nd of April, 1777.

that

that purpoſe: ſo that 33,684 remained to be led againſt his enemy.

Upon this ſtate of facts, it is natural to aſk the following queſtions:

Did Sir William Howe imagine that he was taking the neceſſary meaſures to fulfil his orders to join the northern army at Albany, by leading his own army round Cape Charles, 350 miles more diſtant from Albany than he was at New York?

Did he really imagine that leading Waſhington, already 200 miles from Saratoga, from Quibbletown to the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, could poſſibly be a diverſion of the leaſt importance to the northern army? If Waſhington had intended to have co-operated with Gates againſt the northern army, could Sir William Howe think that he ſhould prevent it by hiding his army in the ocean, and by his circuitous route to the Cheſapeak, going 600 miles from Saratago, and leaving Waſhington within 200 miles of it?

If the General really intended to prevent Waſhington from aſſiſting Gates, why did he not take a poſt between them in New Jerſey, on the only road and paſs through which Waſhington could march?

If he really intended to put an end to the war, by defeating the main army in the field, why did he not lead 25,000 men from Brunſwick, on the north ſide of the Rariton, and attack Waſhington's 10,000 men in his unfortified camp? Or, if Waſhington had been ſo fortified and ſtrong as to render an aſſault improper, why did he not, with ſuch a ſuperior force, ſurround, and, by cutting off his ſupplies, with which he was very ſcantily ſupplied, ſtarve him? All theſe meaſures were pointed out by common ſenſe. The benefits which would have accrued from them were obvious to all, and of the greateſt importance to the ſuppreſſion of the war; while that which he purſued did not afford the leaſt proſ-

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pect of a ſingle advantage to the ſervice, and beſides was attended with an immenſe unneceſſary expence, was pregnant with numerous difficulties, riſques, and dangers, and promiſed the ruin of the campaign.

Major-General Grey, in his evidence, further ſays, "I do not think there was any one object which "would have tempted General Waſhington to riſk "a general action ſo much as the fear of loſing the "capital of Pennſylvania."

This I believe to be true: but, what does it avail in the defence of the General's conduct? Nothing. It contains a full condemnation of his Cheſapeak expedition. For Waſhington would have fought between Hillſborough and that city, from the ſame motive. He engaged Sir William Howe's army at Brandywine for that reaſon, and he would have done it in New Jerſey. Why then did not Sir William Howe, having his boats and pontoons with him all prepared at Brunſwick, paſs his army from that place to the Delaware? If Waſhington had come from his pretended ſtrong poſt to attack the Britiſh army, he muſt have fought his enemy upon equal, if not diſadvantageous terms, as Sir William Howe might have choſe his ground. If he had remained in his camp, the city of Philadelphia, and all his magazines of military and other ſtores, muſt have fallen, without oppoſition, into the General's hands.

To the queſtion: "Was there any probability "of bringing the war to a termination that cam-"paign, without forcing General Waſhington to a "general engagement?" The Major-general anſwers, "Certainly not."

Here the General appears to be ſenſible of the great importance of bringing Waſhington to a battle. Why then did he not take one rational ſtep to effect this purpoſe? Was it poſſible that he could imagine,

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imagine, that his taking poſt on the ſouth ſide of the Rariton would bring an inferior enemy down from his advantageous poſt, acroſs an unfordable river, to attack him? Why did he not march up on the ſame ſide of the river on which Waſhington lay, and offer him battle? Waſhington muſt have fought in a little time, or ſtarved his army. Or, why did he not make a feint, by paſſing towards Philadelphia? This muſt have brought Waſhington from his poſt, or he muſt have given up the "capital of Pennſylvania," for which the General himſelf believed he would fight. Surely any of theſe meaſures were preferable to the unpromiſing and unfortunate expedition round by ſea to the head of Elk.

It will not be thought a digreſſion, ſhould I here give the reader a deſcription of the great advantages which a ſuperior army muſt have over an inferior, in their operations in New Jerſey. The province is bounded on the eaſt and ſouth, by the North River, New York Bay, and the Ocean; on the weſt, by the Bay and River Delaware; and on the north, it runs into the uninhabited mountains, forming a peninſula to the ſouth. The waters incloſing it on the eaſt, ſouth and weſt, are not more than fifty miles diſtant from each other, and until the month of June are never fordable: nor even then, except in the Delaware above Trenton. And there are very few countries to be found, leſs difficult and better adapted for military operations. What then is the caſe of an inferior army in a country thus ſituated, when a ſuperior force is properly led againſt it? If it ſhould march to avoid its enemy ſouthward, it runs into a ſnare from whence it cannot eſcape. If it turns to the north, it muſt combat every difficulty which mountains deſtitute of proviſions can afford; and if he attempts either on the eaſt or weſt to eſcape, he may be attacked in the

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the moment of croſſing a conſiderable river. And yet the General, by the indolence of his movements, although he had his truly contemptible enemy in this very country, ſuffered him to croſs the Delaware with his heavy baggage and artillery in 1776; and in June 1777 ſhamefully retreated before him, ſuffering him conſtantly to haraſs the Britiſh rear from Brunſwick to Amboy. And what was yet more abſurd in military policy, he left this ſcene of operations, ſo full of advantages to himſelf, and miſchievous to his enemy, in order to draw him into a field more extenſive, where none of them exiſted.

The Major-general further ſays, " With the force " Sir William Howe had under his command, I " think, if General Waſhington had a wiſh, it was " for him to have gone up the North river."

This is only matter of opinion, and altogether ill-founded, Waſhington dreaded the army's paſſing up the North river. He knew too well the difficulties he muſt have to encounter in following it. He knew the Britiſh army would be tranſported with eaſe, and in a ſhort time, by water; and that his own muſt march over mountains, and through ravines and ſtrong defiles; and that he muſt receive his proviſions from the ſouthern Colonies. And he alſo knew, that it would depreſs the ſpirits of the eaſtern militia, prevent them, in a good degree, from joining Gates, and infallibly ſave the northern army. Such being his fixed opinion; when it was ſuggeſted to him that Sir William Howe was gone to the Cheſapeak, he would not believe it, and contended that the meaſure was too abſurd to be poſſible. Agreeably to this opinion he acted. When Sir William Howe, with the fleet, ſailed from the Hook *ſouthward*, Waſhington moved his army from Quibbletown *northward*, in order to be more conveniently ſituated to follow the Britiſh General up the

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the North river. He believed the ſailing from the Hook to be a feint, and expected each day that he ſhould hear of the General's return, and of his ſailing with his army towards Albany. And as ſoon as he heard that the Britiſh fleet was at the Capes of Delaware, and not before, he marched ſouthward; but upon receiving accounts that the fleet had again ſtood out to ſea, ſtill perſuaded that Sir William Howe could not act ſo contrary to reaſon and obvious policy, as to go up the Cheſapeak to Philadelphia, and that he would yet go to the northward, he returned to his northern poſt, which he did not leave until it was perfectly aſcertained that the Britiſh fleet was near the head of Elk. This conduct of the American General agreed with his declared ſentiments, and proves the reverſe of the Major-general's opinion.

Page 62.] "*My reaſon for going by ſea fully ſet* "*forth in my narrative, page* 16."

The only reaſons aſſigned by the General to his Sovereign, in his letters, were the difficulties he ſhould meet with in croſſing the Delaware. To theſe I have already replied. Since that letter, he has diſcovered a number of others, equally ill-founded; and for theſe I am referred to the Narrative.

Page 16.] "*To have attacked Waſhington in that* "*ſtrong poſt (Quibbletown), I muſt neceſſarily have made* "*a conſiderable circuit of the country.*"

The utmoſt diſtance of this circuit would not have exceeded fifteen miles, about ſix miles further than to Hillſborough. Neither Quibbletown nor Hillſborough are ten miles from Brunſwick; ſo that this *conſiderable circuit* of country might have been performed in one day. A circuit which will bear no compariſon with the one now adopted in its ſtead, and which he took by ſea and land, to fight Waſhington at Brandywine, on ground equally ſtrong.

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Page 16.] " *I did not think it adviſeable to loſe* " *ſo much time as muſt have been employed in that march* " *during the intenſe heat of the ſeaſon.*"

The time which would have been loſt in that march could not have been more than ten hours;—the time waſted in his Cheſapeak circuit was three months.

Ibid.] " *Excluſive of this conſideration, our return* " *muſt have been through an exhauſted country, where* " *there was no poſſibility of keeping up the communication* " *with Brunſwick.*"

The reader, by this account, may be led to think that Quibbletown is one hundred miles from Brunſwick, when in fact it is but ten at moſt;—and the communication might have been as eaſily kept up with Quibbletown as with Hillſborough; and beſides, as Sir William Howe had only 11,000 men with him, he might have had as many more to have ſecured the communication if he had wanted them.

In my Letters I have aſſerted, that " in the midſt " of victory the ardour of his troops was ſup- " preſſed;" and the General ſuppoſes, page 62, " that the author alludes to his conduct near the " lines of Brooklyn, and introduces the evidence " of Lord Cornwallis and Major-general Grey to " diſprove it." Here the General is miſtaken. I did not allude to his conduct at Brooklyn, but at the Brandywine, Goſhen, and at Germantown. Men of the firſt reputation for candour and integrity at New York declare, that this was alſo the caſe at Brooklyn and the White Plains; but, as I have not treated of the General's conduct at thoſe places, I ſhall take no further notice of his evidence.

In the Letters, I have ſaid, " that, at Brunſwick, " Lord Cornwallis was upon the heels of the ene- " my; the deſtruction of a bridge over the Rariton " ſaved them only for a few hours; their further " ſecurity

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" ſecurity was owing to the orders received by that " nobleman to halt at Brunſwick."

To diſprove theſe facts, he again, page 65, refers to the teſtimony of Earl Cornwallis. On this teſtimony I ſhall make no remarks; but content myſelf with only obſerving, that the facts I have alledged are ratified not only by the univerſal report of the country, but by the General's own letter of the 20th December, 1776, written at the time when the tranſaction happened, to give juſt information to his Sovereign, whom he ought not to have deceived, and when the General did not think of his defence. And therefore I preſume, the public will give full credit to it. The words of the letter are:

" In the Jerſeys, upon the approach of the van " of Lord Cornwallis's corps to Brunſwick, by " a forced march on the firſt inſtant, the enemy " went off *moſt precipitately* to Prince Town; and " had they not prevented the paſſage of the Rari- " ton, by breaking a part of Brunſwick bridge, *ſo* " *great was the confuſion among them, that their army* " *muſt inevitably have been cut to pieces.*"

" *My firſt deſign extending no further than to get poſ-* " *ſeſſion of Eaſt New Jerſey,* LORD CORNWALLIS " HAD ORDERS NOT TO ADVANCE BEYOND BRUNS- " WICK, WHICH OCCASIONED HIM TO DISCON- " TINUE HIS PURSUIT."

Here every fact I have alledged, and which the General has denied, ſtands fully confeſſed by himſelf; and when it is known that the Rariton is fordable at Brunſwick, at every receſs of the tide, no man can doubt but the ſpirit and activity of his Lordſhip would have led him, had not his orders been—" not to advance beyond Brunſwick," to have purſued, an enemy thus precipitately " flying," thus ready to be " cut to pieces," and having ſo " *difficult*" a river to paſs as the Delaware.

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The advantages which muſt have been derived from continuing the purſuit were ſo critical, ſo momentous, and obvious, that we cannot ſuppoſe that an officer ſo active and enterprizing, and who had purſued his enemy more than ninety miles, reducing their numbers from 18,000 to 3,000 men, would have diſcontinued his purſuit at the moment that enemy had before him all the difficulties of croſſing a conſiderable river.

Page 67.] *Waſhington's force at this time (when he was followed to Trenton) conſiſted of* 6,000 *men, excluſive of Lee's corps of* 4,000; *General Waſhington loſt no time in croſſing his artillery and heavy baggage over the Delaware at Trenton, before we could move from Brunſwick. He alſo croſſed part of his troops, keeping a corps on the eaſt ſide to obſerve our motions.*

This paragraph contains three miſtakes; one of them, I truſt, the General himſelf will confeſs. He here ſays that Waſhington's force conſiſted of 6,000 men. In his Narrative, page 8, he acknowledges that force to be only 3,000 when it attacked Colonel Rhal at Trenton. He alſo aſſerts, that Lee's corps conſiſted of 4,000 men. In his letter * to the Secretary of State, giving an account of Lee's capture, which happened only a few days before, he ſays it conſiſted of 2,000 men. Theſe contradictions in his opinions, at the time he was writing to the Secretary of State, and when he is making his defence before the public, the reader will be at no loſs to account for. However, the truth is, that Waſhington, by his own returns made on the day before he croſſed the Delaware, had no more than 3,300; and a number of theſe deſerted immediately after. Lee's corps did not amount to 1500; and on his capture, many of them deſerted; ſo that when Waſhington made his great, and what many

* See his Letter, dated Dec. 20th, 1776.

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thought would be, his laſt effort to recover his deſperate affairs, he could only bring over againſt Colonel Rhal 2800 men, ordering Cadwallader with his brigade of 500 men to croſs the Delaware, and to attack Bordentown, where only 80 Heſſian grenadiers were left by Colonel Donop. The ice in the Delaware prevented this intended manœuvre. And yet Sir William Howe ſuffered Waſhington with this army, then the whole Continental force of America, to take from him all Eaſt and Weſt Jerſey, except his poſts on the Rariton, and that too at a time when he confeſſes in his Narrative, page 41, that his "*great ſucceſſes had intimidated the leaders* "*of the rebellion, and nearly induced a general ſub-* "*miſſion.*"

Nor is it a fact, that, "Waſhington loſt no time "in croſſing his artillery over the Delaware at Tren- "ton before we could move from Brunſwick." Waſhington believed that the Britiſh General had no deſign of moving his army from Eaſt to Weſt New Jerſey. Upon what Waſhington's belief was founded, I know not. But it is certain, that he acted as if he was acquainted with the General's firſt intentions. That he had, if we may credit his own letters to Congreſs now in Britain, copies of returns of the Britiſh army, is a fact. It is therefore highly probable, this reſolution might *inadvertently* tranſpire through the ſame channel. Poſſeſſed with this belief, Waſhington did not leave Princetown until the Britiſh van was within three miles of it. Nor had he prepared boats at Trenton to tranſport his army over the Delaware. The ſame boats which Lord Cornwallis ſays, in his teſtimony, "he had hopes of finding at Coryel's Ferry," did not get down to Trenton until late in the ſame night that the Britiſh army *ſlept* at Princetown. And therefore it was, that Waſhington did not begin to tranſport his baggage and artillery over the Dela ware,

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Delaware, until twelve o'clock that night; and could not get his baggage and troops over, until a few minutes before the arrival of the Britiſh army *, which had loitered ſeventeen hours within twelve miles of Trenton. For this confidence of Waſhington in the indolence of the Britiſh General, his principal officers who were not in his ſecret councils blamed him. And it was upon this occaſion that Weeden, an American General, wrote the Letter I have mentioned in page 48 of the Letters to a Nobleman, declaring, "that General Howe had a "mortgage on Waſhington's army for ſome time, "but had not yet foreclоſed it."

It is alſo a miſtake, that Waſhington "croſſed a "part of his troops over the Delaware, keeping "a corps on the eaſt ſide to obſerve our motions;" no corps was croſſed over until the morning of the day on which the Britiſh army took up their quarters at Trenton.

Page 66.] "*The troops of the left column were not* "*in their cantonments in the evening of the march to* "*Princeton until dark, and thoſe of the right column* "*not till ſome hours after dark.*"

How illuſive is this! I have aſſerted that the army arrived at Princeton at four o'clock in the afternoon. This fact the General does not deny; but to evade it, we are told, when the two columns were ſettled in their cantonments. How long it was before the two columns were in their cantonments, I know not; perhaps the ſame indolence prevailed in cantoning the army as in the other operations. But that both the columns were Britiſh troops, relieved from fatigue by their ſtay at Brunſ-

* See Sir William Howe's Letter, 20th Dec. 1776. The truth is, the laſt American embarkation had not left the Jerſey ſhore when the Britiſh van appeared in ſight. And a Mr. Samuel Morris, one of the American officers, whoſe ſervant was taken, made his eſcape on horſeback, becauſe he could not reach the laſt boat.

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wick, and zealous for action, and either of them ſuperior in numbers to the flying and panic-ſtruck enemy, are truths that cannot be concealed or evaded. And therefore it is evident, that they eaſily might have overtaken, in the courſe of ſeventeen hours, the enemy, who were within twelve miles of their quarters, and that in the very act of croſſing the Delaware; that river, of which the difficulties in croſſing have been ſo magnified to ſerve another purpoſe.

Page 67.] *The cauſe of not marching earlier the following day was, that the enemy had broke down the bridge which could not be ſooner repaired, and rendered fit for the paſſage of artillery.*

This bridge was over a creek which an Engliſh hunter would leap with eaſe. It was within a mile of the Britiſh head-quarters, its banks ſloping to the water's edge with gentleſt declivity, and fordable at the high road, and in 20 other places within half a mile of it. The bridge itſelf, which was only uſed occaſionally by the inhabitants on heavy falls of rain, might have been repaired in one hour, and at four o'clock in the morning as well as ten o'clock in the day—there was nothing to prevent it. There are people now in London perfectly acquainted with this formidable bridge and creek.

Ibid.] *To account for his not croſſing the Delaware after his reduced and panic-ſtruck enemy, at a time when he had brought the country nearly to a "general "ſubmiſſion," he again refers to Lord Cornwallis's evidence, who tells us, "as the Delaware was not forda-"ble, and we could get no boats, it was certainly im-"practicable."*

That the Delaware could not have been paſſed at this time without boats or rafts, is true. But the General muſt tell us, in his rejoinder, why he did not conſtruct rafts or pontoons, which might have been done

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done in a few days with the materials in Trenton *. This is a queſtion to which the Public has a right, and will expect, a ſatisfactory, and not an evaſive anſwer; eſpecially as the croſſing the Delaware at this time was moſt critical and momentous, and muſt have put an immediate end to the war.

At this time, the models of Government in the American States were ſcarcely formed, and their authority by no means eſtabliſhed. Every Member of the State of New Jerſey had fled out of the province; and the Congreſs themſelves, with the utmoſt precipitation, had alſo fled from Pennſylvania into Maryland. An univerſal panic, with a deſire of immediate ſubmiſſion, then prevailed throughout all North America. Waſhington's army was reduced to 3000 men. The city of Philadelphia was diſtant no more than two days eaſy march; it was intirely defenceleſs; 3000 Britiſh might have been ſpared to have taken immediate poſſeſſion of it; while the other, and by far greater part of the Britiſh army, might have been employed in the final deſtruction of the American force and magazines. The Britiſh fleet, or ſuch a part of it as might be thought neceſſary, with tranſports loaded with ſtores and proviſions for the army, might have ſailed round in one week, and without a ſingle obſtruction †, have paſſed up to Philadelphia, which every circumſtance demonſtrated to be the moſt comfortable and moſt proper quarters for the army in winter. Had this meaſure, which plain common ſenſe ſo evidently dictated, been purſued, the reader will determine, whether that country, which the General has ſo incautiouſly confeſſed, was, by the previous ſucceſſes of the Britiſh arms, brought

* See Mr. Galloway's Examination, p. 42.

† At this time the Mud Iſland fort was not built, the chevaux-de-frize and chain were not made, nor were their fire-rafts or water-guard in any kind of force.

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" nearly to a general ſubmiſſion," would not have ended the war, preſerved the Northern army, prevented a war with France and Spain, ſaved the millions which have been expended, and preſerved the nation from thoſe imminent dangers and diſtreſſes which lately threatened the independence of the Britiſh nation.

Page 68.] *The General again adduces the teſtimony of Lord Cornwallis and Sir George Oſborne, to vindicate his conduct in having taken Trenton into the chain of cantonments, and for poſting the Heſſian troops, with the 42d regiment, there and at Bordentown, under the command of Colonel Donop.*

Here he attempts to evade the force of the charge againſt him. I have not cenſured his conduct for " taking Trenton into his chain of cantonments." Seeing he *would not* croſs the Delaware, this was a prudent and neceſſary meaſure. It was neceſſary to cover New Jerſey, which he had then conquered, and might have been ſecured, had he taken one proper ſtep for that purpoſe. There is not, therefore, a ſentiment in the Letters that can bear this meaning: I have only blamed him, *1mo*, for giving the command of his frontier cantonments to foreigners, who did not underſtand the language or policy of the country; and *2do*, and principally, for leaving the weakeſt command, or feweſt number of men, next to the main force of the enemy, and the ſtrongeſt and greateſt command, where there was no enemy to fear.

The reader will here permit me to refer him to a peruſal of Lord Cornwallis's evidence, where he will find, that no fact, which his Lordſhip aſſerts, tends to contradict any of the charges in this paragraph; all that he ſays, relates to the covering of Trenton, which certainly was judicious and neceſſary. But had his Lordſhip been conſulted on the quantum of force which ought to have been left at Trenton, or upon

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upon the expedience or propriety of placing foreigners in the frontier poſts, I am confident he would have adviſed againſt either of thoſe meaſures; and had he been aſked by the General, whether the greateſt or weakeſt force ought to have been placed in the frontier cantonments, he would, without any heſitation, have adviſed the greateſt.

Page 69.] *Sir George Oſborne, whoſe evidence I have mentioned, tells us, that, after the misfortune of Trenton, Colonel Donop acquainted him, that if Colonel Rhal had executed the orders he had delivered him from Sir William Howe, which were, to erect redoubts at the poſt of Trenton, that his opinion was, it would have been impoſſible to have forced Rhal's brigade, before he could come to his aſſiſtance from Bordentown.*

If this was the declaration of Colonel Donop, as we muſt ſuppoſe, inaſmuch as a gentleman of Sir George Oſborne's eſtabliſhed credit has declared it, it can only convince us, when the real facts are known, of the impropriety and ill policy of placing Heſſian Commanders in the advanced and moſt dangerous poſt, with a command ſo weak, to oppoſe the whole force of the enemy. The truth is, that Colonel Donop, when Trenton was aſſaulted and taken, was drawn down to Mount Holly, twelve miles diſtant from Bordentown, and eighteen from Trenton, with his whole corps, except 80 grenadiers, contrary to the information and advice received from Mr. Galloway. This gentleman told him, that the enemy's force at Mount Holly, which he ſuppoſed, from the information he had received from a number of the diſaffected, who had groſsly impoſed upon him, to be 3000 men, were no more than 550, men and boys, prevailed on to make a ſhow and to draw him from his poſt, while Trenton was attacked. This information the Colonel diſregarded; the conſequence of which was, that Colonel Donop was not at Bordentown, from whence he could ſupport Colonel

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lonel Rhal; and therefore Colonel Donop told Sir George what was not a fact, to apologize for his own unmilitary conduct.

But if the Colonel had received orders to direct Colonel Rhal to fortify Trenton, one would imagine the General had taken the ſame precaution in reſpect to Bordentown. And yet we know that Colonel Denop acted the ſame indiſcreet and unmilitary part with Colonel Rhal, and indeed worſe; for he left his poſt, although equally expoſed to the enemy, who had boats to croſs their whole force over, to the aſſault of either poſt, then unfortified. Waſhington was not unmindful of theſe military blunders, and therefore ſent his contemptible body of new raiſed militia, moſt of them boys, to draw Colonel Donop from his poſt, while he ſhould attack it, as well as Trenton; and nothing ſaved Bordentown, at the time Trenton was taken, but the ice in the Delaware, which prevented a corps of 500 men, under Cadwallader, from paſſing that river.

Had Colonels Donop and Rhal received orders from the General to fortify their reſpective poſts, is it credible that officers of their rank and experience would have preſumed to diſobey them? I ſhould think not, when their own ſafety and honour depended on their obedience. If Colonel Donop had received ſuch orders, it was his duty to have ſeen them executed; if he did not, why did not the General call him to anſwer for ſo great a breach of duty? Why did he afterwards intruſt a man, who had tranſgreſſed the military law in a point ſo important, and which had brought diſgrace and ruin on the Britiſh ſervice, with the important command againſt Red Bank? But there are other queſtions, to which we may call on the General for explicit anſwers. Where the orders to Colonel Donop in writing or not? If they were in writing, why are they not produced? If they were not, they certainly ought

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ought to have been, in a matter of ſo much conſequence. But further. Why did not the General ſee that thoſe redoubts were built, before he withdrew his force from Trenton? If they were neceſſary at all, they were immediately neceſſary. The aſſaults upon Trenton might have been made the next day after the enemy had left it, as well as the eleventh. The General, with his whole army, remained on the ſpot, from the 8th to the 14th of December*; and in half of that time the redoubts at both poſts might have been completed, and the ſubſequent diſgraces and misfortunes, to the Britiſh ſervice, prevented. The General, therefore, muſt yet find a better apology for theſe two blunders; of leaving his frontier poſts, which were the moſt expoſed, and in ſight of the whole force of the enemy, in a ſtate altogether defenceleſs, and with the ſmalleſt number of troops of any of his cantonments; blunders that would diſgrace the weakeſt officer in his army.

Ibid.] *Waſhington, after Lee's corps joined him, never leſs than* 8000 *men.*

General Lee was taken, on the 12th of December, by Colonel Harcourt, at the head of his corps, near Trenton, on their way to join General Waſhington. A few days after the ſcattered remains of that corps, not conſiſting of 700 men, joined Waſhington. who, reinforced by that corps, attacked Trenton; and the General confeſſes in his Narrative, page 8, when he intends to throw blame on Colonel Rhal, for ſuffering Trenton to be taken, that "he was credibly informed, that the numbers "of the enemy did not exceed 3000;" but in his Obſervations, when he has another purpoſe in view, he aſſerts, that Waſhington had never leſs than

* See his Letter to Lord George Germain, of the 20th of December, 1776.

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8000 men, after the junction of Lee's corps. The General did not recollect, at the time he made uſe of this argument, that it proves too much for his own reputation: and that, if it vindicates it in one caſe, it more ſtrongly condemns it in another. For if Waſhington's force "was *not leſs than* 8000 *men*, when he left Trenton with only 1200, under Colonel Rhal, in a ſtate entirely unfortified, to oppoſe that 8000, did his military knowledge lead him to believe that the poſt of Trenton was ſafe? Did it juſtify his not ſeeing that poſt in a ſtate of defence, at leaſt for one day, before he left it; before he drew the main Britiſh army from it? I wiſh ſome reflections, yet more to the General's diſadvantage than thoſe I have yet enumerated, may not obtrude themſelves upon the mind of the candid enquirer into his conduct. If there were 8000 men within ſight of the defenceleſs poſt of Trenton, did General Howe intend to ſacrifice that poſt to the wicked deſigns of a faction, combined againſt the honour of his Sovereign, and the happineſs of his country? Or ſhall we impute it to his ignorance in military ſervice?

But yet even this excuſe his friend Major-General Grey will not ſuffer us to admit. He declares, page 96, that the "diviſion of the army, before the battle of Brandywine, was a *maſterly movement, deceived* "*the enemy*, and brought on an action with almoſt "certainty of ſucceſs;" we cannot, therefore, impute ſo groſs a blunder to ignorance. The reader will aſcribe it to another cauſe.

I have aſſerted, in page 61 of my Letters, that Waſhington was encamped at Quibbletown, about nine miles from Brunſwick, with fewer than 6000 undiſciplined and badly appointed troops, which, with a corps of 2000 men, under General Sulivan at Prince Town, compoſed his whole force. To this the General anſwers,

Ibid.]

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Ibid.] *From the intelligence I then had, and which I have not ſince had reaſon to doubt, Waſhington had not leſs than* 10,000 *men in his camp, on the hill above Quibbletown.*

The General ſhews no want of ingenuity in ſtating his own numbers, and thoſe of his enemy. In treating of the former, he gives us only his effective rank and file, excluſive of officers, an important part of his force; but in ſpeaking of the American army, he always extends his ideas to its whole force. This is artful, and ingeniouſly adapted to miſlead men unacquainted with ſuch calculation. However, allowing him what he contends for, ſuppoſing that he had "11,000 fighting men," and Waſhington 10,000, yet the former were veteran troops, inured to victory, and eager for action; and the latter were new raiſed and undiſciplined: and at leaſt one-half militia*. Was he afraid of attacking Waſhington with ſuch men? If he was, why did he not add to their numbers 11,000 more? His own returns will prove, that the numbers then under his immediate command, were not leſs than 35,000.

Page 70.] *His (Waſhington's) camp was to the full as inacceſſible in the rear as in the front, and an attack upon his right flank (from every account I could get) would have been ſtill more hazardous.*

The ſurveyor of the county, who knew the ſpot on which Waſhington was encamped, was at New York when the General proceeded to Hilliſborough; he was attending on the army to render it ſervices. He had drawn a chart of the roads round Waſhington's camp: and he communicated his ideas to General Skinner, who had conſtant acceſs to the General. He was ordered to hold himſelf in rea-

* It will occur to the Reader, that Lord Cornwallis, with leſs than 2000 veteran troops, has lately defeated, and totally routed, 7,000.

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dineſs to attend the army in Jerſey; but he was left at New York, without any notice of its movements to Hillſborough. Of theſe facts, whenever called upon, he will make ſolemn affidavit; and further, that Waſhington's camp was acceſſible both in the rear and on the right flank, on higher and more commanding ground.

Ibid.] *Waſhington was certainly induced to believe that my intentions was to attack him; and had he not been perfectly ſatisfied with the ſtrength of his poſt, he would not have remained ſo long in it.*

It was impoſſible that Waſhington could conceive, from the movement of the Britiſh army, that the General intended to attack him. It did not in the leaſt indicate ſuch deſign, but manifeſtly the reverſe; indeed, it rather diſcovered a fear in the General, of an attack from the American army. Could Waſhington, when General Howe, with all the appearance of caution and fear, in his whole march from Brunſwick to Hillſborough, and during his ſtay at that poſt, kept the Rariton, an unfordable river, between him and the poſt of his enemy, a ſituation from which he could neither attack nor be attacked, poſſibly believe he intended to attack him? It was this unmilitary conduct which encouraged Waſhington to remain in his camp, becauſe he knew he was ſafe while Sir William Howe remained thus poſted. Had the General wiſhed to have induced Waſhington to believe he intended to bring on an action, there was one obvious and infallible mode of doing it. A march of five or ſix miles would have carried the army to Waſhington's right flank or rear. It would then have been poſted between Waſhington and all his reſources: it would have cut him off from his magazines of proviſion, his military ſtores, and his boats then lying ſome within ſeventeen, and all within thirty, miles of the Britiſh poſt. In this caſe, Waſhington muſt have

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have deſerted his camp, or ſtarved; and if he had moved, the General might have attacked, or purſued him to his boats, to which the Britiſh army would have been many miles nearer than Waſhington, as he muſt have taken a conſiderable circuit to have reached them, and to have avoided an action, ſuppoſing it to have been practicable. But inſtead of this manœuvre, the General did not move his army towards the Delaware, far enough to induce a belief that he intended either to croſs it, to get in the enemy's rear, or to cut him off from his ſupplies.

From page 71 to 96, *the General has introduced the teſtimony of Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, to apologize for not going up the Delaware, when he arrived with his fleet at the Capes of that Bay.*

It would be a tedious taſk, and little entertaining to the reader, ſhould I travel through all the miſtakes contained in this teſtimony, reſpecting the numerous "ſhoals, and the rapidity of the tides," in the Delaware; the force of Waſhington at Wilmington; the narrowneſs of the channel at Newcaſtle; the difficulties of landing the troops, and the great ſtrength of the enemy's water-guard.

I will, therefore, content myſelf, becauſe I truſt the reader will be ſatisfied, with a few brief and general obſervations on the whole. The *ſhoals* are to be ſeen in Fiſher's chart of the Delaware. *The tide* does not run two miles and an half in half an hour. As to the *narrowneſs of the channel* at Newcaſtle, every ſkilful mariner, who has ſailed up the Delaware, knows, that from the Pea-patch below, to Marcus Hook above, that town, a diſtance of twenty miles, it is at leaſt two miles in width. The ſtrength of Waſhington, at Wilmington, was perfectly viſionary; becauſe it is known he was not at that time in Pennſylvania; and there are a number of gentlemen, now in London, who can prove that the fort

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at Mud Iſland was in an unfiniſhed and defenceleſs ſtate, and poſſeſſed by 130 militia only; that the water-guard was unprepared and unmanned, and the chain not finiſhed; and that there are a variety of places between the Bite of Newcaſtle and Marcus Hook, perfectly adapted to the landing of an army with the utmoſt eaſe. Of this, Sir Andrew, in his croſs examination, notwithſtanding all the imaginary difficulties he had before enumerated, makes a full confeſſion; for, in page 87, he candidly declares, that he "never pretended to deny the practicability of landing an army in the Delaware." But, to put this matter beyond diſpute, I need only remind the public, that the ſame fleet which Sir William Howe has endeavoured to perſuade us would be in danger from the difficulties in the navigation, and the American force, by his own orders, ſhortly after, when Waſhington had poſſeſſion of the country on both ſides, did ſail up the ſame river *uninjured and unmoleſted*, and in leſs than half the time it had taken to ſail up the Cheſapeak, and Waſhington's troops were in poſſeſſion of both banks of the river, when the water-guard was prepared, and in complete force.

Pages 104 and 105 *are partly employed in an attempt to prove there was no time loſt in ſtopping the banks of Province Iſland, to enable the workmen to erect the batteries againſt Mud Iſland.*

To ſupport the charge of neglect, I ſhall applyo the General's own declarations; by which it will appear, that the city of Philadelphia was in the General's poſſeſſion on the 26th of Septembe*, and that the batteries were opened againſt Mud Iſland on the 15th of November, exactly ſeven weeks after †. What were the carpenters and working parties employed in during this time? We are told they were repairing the dykes, and ſtopping out the tides.

* See Sir Wm. Howe's Letter to Lord George Germain, of the 10th of October, 1777.

† See Obſervations, p. 105.

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If the engineer employed them in that labour, when he had liberty to procure artiſts, he was very abſurd. This buſineſs is a particular art, and to be performed only by experienced men. Their wages are from 7s. 6d. to 10s. *per diem*, while the wages of an upland ditcher is only 2s.; and I have known a maſter artiſt ſent for from Virginia, and paid 150l. *per annum* ſalary. Hence it was that the carpenters and working parties, if they were employed in repairing the dykes, laboured in vain, in a buſineſs that they knew nothing about; but the truth is, they were as fruitleſsly employed in mud and water, to erect the batteries. This occaſioned the application to Mr. Galloway, by Lord Cornwallis, who, as is before mentioned, had them repaired in ſix days. The number of men employed by him, were upwards of forty.

An attempt is made, in 106, to vindicate the General's conduct, in not attacking the American army at White Marſh. "*I had*, ſays he, *the beſt intelli-* "*gence that the enemy's poſt was not aſſailable in the* "*rear.*"

The guides who attended the General in this truly ridiculous expedition, and who lived from their infancy on the ſpot, and many others, will prove, on oath, that the ground in Waſhington's rear commanded his camp; and it is not leſs true, that he was prepared, at a moment's notice, of the General's movement towards his rear, for flight. His heavy baggage was ſent off towards Skippack, and his light was in readineſs for a precipitate movement. Men of undoubted reputation, within his lines at the time have confirmed theſe facts.

But the General here again calls to his aid the teſtimony of Major-general Grey, who ſays, "I "think an attack on the enemy, ſo very ſtrongly "ſituated as they were at White Marſh, would have "been highly imprudent." Did the Major-general ever reconnoitre the rear of Waſhington's camp? Was he ever on, or near that ground? He does not aſſert

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aſſert it: and the truth is, he never was. May he not then have been miſtaken in his opinion? He in the next page as poſitively aſſerts, that the war was carried on, "in the ſtrongeſt country in the world, "with almoſt an unanimous people to defend it;" and in both of theſe opinions, there are now but few men who do not know that he is groſsly miſtaken.

I have ſaid, that the General "ſupinely ſuffered "himſelf to be ſurpriſed at Germantown." To diſprove this charge, we are referred to Sir George Oſborne's teſtimony; and, when we candidly examine what he has ſaid on the ſubject, we find it rather ſupports than diſproves it. All that Sir George has ſaid in favour of the General, is, that he ordered him to move in front of the line of infantry: and told him, he "might expect the enemy at day-"break."

This only proves, that the General had ſome ſuſpicions of the enemy's deſign; but not that he had, in conſequence of that ſuſpicion, given the neceſſary orders to the army, to prepare them for receiving the enemy, and to prevent a ſurpriſe. If he really believed he ſhould be attacked, he is yet more culpable than I had imagined; for it is evident, from the teſtimony of his own witneſs, that no ſuch orders were given. Four different queſtions were put to Sir George, in order to draw from him his opinion on the ſurpriſe of the army; all of which he declined to anſwer. If he did believe the army was not ſurpriſed, would not his honour and the juſtice due to the General, have induced him to have declared his opinion? And, as he declined it, is there not what amounts to the ſtrongeſt preſumption, that he could not deny it without violating his honour and the truth? But if the General really gave the neceſſary orders to the ſeveral officers of his army to prevent a ſurpriſe, all his Aids-de-camp

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and his Secretary were in London during the examination of his witneſſes before the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, why then did he not prove ſuch orders by them? His honour, his military character demanded it; and yet we find he has prudently avoided to examine them on the ſubject.

In the Letters to a Nobleman, page 86 to 89, I have faithfully deſcribed the diſtreſſed ſituation of the American army at the Valley Forge, and charged the General with a high breach of his duty to his Sovereign, in not attacking or beſieging it, and by that means ſaving his country from all its ſubſequent misfortunes. As this is a high charge, the public will excuſe me if I repeat it at large, and then conſider his anſwer.

" Here" (at the Valley Forge) " Waſhington lay " all the winter and ſpring, encountering difficulties " which language can ſcarcely deſcribe. His army " labouring under bad apppointments, almoſt in " every reſpect; his troops in a manner naked, in " the moſt inclement ſeaſon of the year, having no " ſalt proviſions, and little ſalt to eat with their " freſh, often on ſhort allowance in reſpect to both; " rapidly waſting by ſickneſs, that raged with ex- " treme mortality in all his different hoſpitals, and " without any of the capital medicines to relieve " them. His army was likewiſe diminiſhed by " conſtant deſertions, in companies from ten to fifty " at a time; hence in three months his number was " reduced to leſs than 4000 men, who could not, " with propriety, be called effectives.

" Waſhington's army continued in this weak and " dangerous ſtate from December till May; while " the Britiſh troops, who had the beſt appointments, " and were in high health and ſpirits, lay in Phila- " delphia, in a great meaſure inactive, ſuffering the " enemy to diſtreſs the loyal inhabitants on every " ſide of the Britiſh lines, to deſtroy their mills,

" ſeize

" ſeize their grain, their horſes, their cattle; impri-
" ſon, whip, brand, and kill the unhappy people,
" who, devoted to the cauſe of their Sovereign, at
" every riſk, were daily ſupplying the army, navy,
" and loyal inhabitants within the lines, with every
" neceſſary and luxury that the country afforded."

To the charge thus made, with ſo many circumſtances preciſely defined, the General, as upon many other occaſions, contents himſelf with making only a general anſwer. He does not preſume to deny one of the facts I have aſſerted; he does not deny the deſcription I have given of the weakneſs of the enemy's camp, and of its lines and redoubts; of its numbers of men; of its truly diſtreſſed ſtate, ariſing from the want of comfortable lodgings, of proviſions, and of clothing; or of the conſtant deſertions, and extreme mortality raging among his troops. All theſe facts he gently glides over in ſilence, and artfully reſts his defence on the following naked aſſertion; That

Page 106.] " The Author's plan of beſieging the
" enemy at the Valley Forge, is in the higheſt de-
" gree abſurd. Had I made a diviſion of the troops
" in the manner he propoſes, I ſhould have expoſed
" them to have been beaten in detail."

Surely this cannot be deemed a ſatisfactory anſwer to thoſe numerous facts, ſhould I ſay nothing in reply; however, fatigued as I am with the diſagreeable taſk of refuting ſo many poſitive aſſertions, and ſuch numerous miſrepreſentations, I cannot paſs it over in ſilence. On my reader's account, as well as my own, I will be brief. The reader will ſee in the Appendix, a genuine Letter from a Committee of Congreſs, appointed to examine into the cauſes of the diſtreſſed ſtate of Waſhington's army, and ſitting at the Valley Forge at the time I have mentioned. It is ſigned *Francis Dana*, one of the Committee, in behalf of the reſt, directed to the Preſident of the Congreſs,

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Congreſs, and indorſed in the hand-writing of Mr. Laurens, the then Preſident, from whoſe trunk, among other intereſting papers, it was taken; the authenticity therefore cannot be diſputed. From this letter, it will appear that I have been modeſt in my deſcription of the diſtreſſes of Waſhington's army; I truſt I have been ſo in every other piece of information, which I have, from the beſt motives, given my country; and I cannot help acknowledging, that I eſteem it a fortunate event, that I am thus juſtified in a particular which carried with it a greater degree of improbability than any other that I have communicated to the public.

Having peruſed this letter, the reader will recollect, that the General had under his immediate command near 20,000 veteran troops; that his enemy had not 3000 men, who could with propriety be called effectives; that theſe were in a manner deſtitute of almoſt every neceſſary; and that he had not horſes to carry off his cannon and military ſtores. What, then, could prevent the General from marching out with 5000 men, and attacking this enfeebled, ſickly, and naked enemy, thus deſtitute of proviſions? Was he afraid that 5000 veteran Britons would be beaten "in detail" by ſuch an enemy? Why, then, did he not take his whole army (as there was at that time no other body of men in arms on the whole continent of America), and attack, or ſurround, and ſtarve him into a ſurrender, agreeably to the plan I have mentioned in the Letters*? Could any thing be more practicable? Did not every ſenſe of military duty, the recent loſs of the Northern army, and the critical ſtate of affairs at that time in Europe, all urgently preſs him to take this

* See Letters to a Nobleman, p. 89, and a chart, ſhowing the poſition to the American army, and of the poſts propoſed to be taken by the Britiſh.

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meaſure? Had this been done, the honor of his country ſhamefully loſt at Saratoga, would have been regained; all the valuable artillery, and military ſtores of the continent, would have fallen into his hands. The Congreſs, ſeeing their whole force taken or diſperſed, muſt have deſponded of further oppoſition; all America muſt have ſubmitted; and the Court of France muſt have ſeen the folly of its new alliance, and receded from it; and thus the General might have ſaved his country from all its preſent difficulties, embarraſſments, and diſtreſſes.

If there was not a want of inclination, why was not this done? The General cannot plead want of perfect knowledge of the deſpondency and weak ſtate of his enemy. If he wanted charts of Waſhington's quarters, and his redoubts and defences, ſeveral of them were brought in to him by men of credit, who took them on the ſpot. If he wanted intelligence of the ſtate, poſition, or movements of the army, he received it conſtantly from officers, and other perſons confidential in every department of the enemy's army; beſides his conſtant intelligence from deſerters, ſpies, and the people of the country, daily coming into his lines. In ſhort, there was no movement, or other material circumſtance that happened, but what the General was ſoon acquainted with. The ſtate and condition of the American army was as much before him as before Waſhington himſelf.

It has been problematical with many, what motives could lead an officer, whoſe reputation ſtood high in the opinion of his Sovereign and country, into all this miſconduct. The humane and charitable impute it to his real ignorance in his own profeſſion. But theſe men have taken only a ſuperficial view of the General's actions. His plans of the battle of Long Iſland and Brandywine, are irreſiſtible proofs that, when he intended to gain an advantage over his enemy, or even to cut off his retreat,

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treat, he poſſeſſed military judgment ſufficient to inſure it. At both of theſe places, he knew, that if he had been defeated he muſt have loſt his army. Had his troops been routed at Long Iſland, he could not have eſcaped in his boats to his ſhips, when purſued by a victorious enemy. Thus circumſtanced, his military abilities were exerted; nor would his manœuvres have diſgraced a General of the firſt abilities; he turned his enemy's leftflank, unſuſpected, by a circuitous route, and killed and took priſoners one-third of his army. At Brandywine, when he thought his fleet had left him, and he had no ſafety but in victory, his meaſures were equally judicious; he ſuddenly, and unperceived, hemmed in the whole American army between his two columns and impaſſable waters. In ſhort, he was never defeated, nor compelled to retreat; and always ſucceeded in every attack he thought proper to make, as far as he choſe to ſucceed; knowledge, therefore, could not be wanting, whenever inclination called it into action.

There are others, and but few, who imagine that the war was procraſtinated from lucrative views. But from this charge I readily acquit the General. His diſpoſition is liberal; and his particular friends acknowledge, that the love of money is the leaſt of all his paſſions; and therefore, although he ſuffered his favourites, while he was profuſely waſting the wealth of the nation by his inaction and extravagant demands, to collect much of it into their own coffers, yet little of it found its way into that of the General.

There are others who, having carefully examined the conduct of the General in America, and compared it with the proceedings of a wicked faction in Britain, are convinced that the deſign of both was the ſame; and that the General, inſtead of accepting the command with an intention to execute the truſt repoſed in him by his Sovereign and his country,

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country, accepted it by the advice, and with design to facilitate the wicked purposes, of his confederates in Britain. I sincerely wish there were no ground for such a conclusion. But there are circumstances so strong, and actions which speak so loudly in support of it, that, when examined, they will amount to positive proof. Indeed, it is impossible to trace his conduct, by fair and just arguments, from any other motive.

A private letter from Mr. Samuel Kirk, of Nottingham, one of the General's constituents and colleagues in faction, with his answer, is before the public *. Mr. Kirk charges him with a breach of promise, in accepting of the command of the forces about to be sent to America for suppressing the rebellion; tells him of the "confusion it had made "among his friends;" gives his reasons against it; and concludes with saying, "I do not wish you may "fall, as many do; but I cannot say I wish success "to the undertaking." To this confidential and truly seditious letter, the General returns an answer as confidential. He tells Mr. Kirk, that "he had "flattered himself he had removed all those preju-"dices he had entertained against him;" that he "had been highly complimented," upon his accepting the command, by those who are "averse "to the measures of Administration;" and "in-"treats him in particular to suspend his judgment, "until the event should prove him unworthy of his "support."

These letters, which were not intended for the public eye, surely furnish us with a clue to the dark and heinous conspiracy of the Faction with which the General was connected. From them it appears, that, before these men had concerted their plan of

* See the detail and conduct of the American war, and the Appendix to this Reply.

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oppoſition, he had pledged his honor to his conſtituents, that he would not accept of a command which was to ſuppreſs rebellion; and that notwithſtanding, he was led by ſome, we muſt ſuppoſe, powerful motive, to violate his promiſe.

What that motive was, is likewiſe ſufficiently evident. It was the advice of the men who were thus "averſe to the meaſures of Adminiſtration," whoſe "compliments" he immediately received on accepting the commiſſion, whoſe approbation he pleads as an excuſe to his friend for his breach of promiſe, and of whoſe public reputation he was the conſtant and careful guardian while in America*. And it further appears, that after he had received

* It is an anecdote as true as it is curious, that, when the General was at Philadelphia, a Loyaliſt was about to publiſh a piece reflecting on the conduct of the Minority in Parliament. The General by ſome means heard of it: upon which Mr. Galloway received the following billet from his Secretary:

"Captain M'Kenzie's compliments to Mr. Galloway; the General deſires he will be pleaſed to inquire into the authority by which Mr. Towne publiſhes his Evening Poſt, and to make any regulations he thinks neceſſary to ſuppreſs political pieces, which may have an evil tendency, from either of the preſſes, as it is hinted, that ſome of this ſtamp are deſigned for publication."

Mr. Galloway, engaged in other buſineſs, neglected to perform the duty recommended by this billet, not knowing the immediate urgency nor the extreme importance of it; and the piece was publiſhed. The Secretary came down to Mr. Galloway, much vexed, and complained of the Printer. The Printer was ſent for by the Secretary, and reprimanded for this heinous offence; and the Author of the piece was told, that the General would not ſuffer ſuch pieces to be publiſhed. This anecdote, however, trifling as it may ſeem, fully proves, that the General held himſelf bound to preſerve the conduct of the Oppoſition to his Sovereign's meaſures, from the rude ſtrictures of the Loyaliſts, within his lines; and for that purpoſe even to make uſe of the power veſted in him by his Majeſty; although that very Oppoſition was conſtantly holding up to view of the people, the conduct of the ſervants of the Crown, and even of Majeſty itſelf, in terms the moſt opprobrious and inſulting.

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his commaud, to remove the "prejudices" of his particular friend, who had declared "he could not "wiſh him ſucceſs" in ſuppreſſing the rebellion, "to "ſuſpend his judgment" on the General's conduct, "until the event ſhould prove him unworthy of "his ſupport." Upon theſe plain facts the public will determine, whether there is not ſatisfactory proof of a reſolution in the General to co-operate with the deſign of a Faction, who were averſe to that meaſure, a deſign as unconſtitutional as it was wicked; and which was nothing leſs than to wreſt from their Sovereign his conſtitutional right to appoint his confidential and executive ſervants (a right which, by the conſtitution of the Britiſh Government, is as firmly eſtabliſhed in the Crown, as that of electing repreſentatives in Parliament is fixed in the people;) to compel him to turn out the preſent Adminiſtration; and put his own perſon, his family, and his crown, into the hands of theſe conſpirators.

To accompliſh this deſign, all their powers were to be united and exerted. One great line of conduct was to be adopted; Adminiſtration was to be proclaimed the authors of all the national misfortunes; and their meaſures, however honeſt, wiſe, or neceſſary to the honour and ſafety of the empire, were to be oppoſed and obſtructed in Parliament, and the execution of them defeated, if poſſible.

Men's actions are the ſtrongeſt proof of their ſecret deſigns. If we examine the conduct of the Faction in Britain, we find that it has ſtrictly correſponded with theſe preconcerted meaſures. The American war was an event, which theſe men thought would furniſh them with all the means neceſſary to the accompliſhment of their deſign. They ſaw it would call for the exertions of Goverment, and that thoſe exertions would afford a large field for oppoſition. The real rebel, who wiſhed to overturn

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turn the Government, and the hungry Patriot, whoſe luſt could only be ſatisfied by power and places, united therefore in foſtering and ſupporting it. And, leſt the wiſdom of the rebel Coloniſts ſhould fail in their plans, the meaſures of ſedition, from time to time, were concerted, and tranſmitted, by the Faction in Britain, to their confederates in America. "The non-importation agree-"ment, the union of the Colonies, and the meet-"ing of a Congreſs; a ſolemn league and cove-"nant, under oath, not to purchaſe the manfac-"tures of Great Britain, and to make an united and "invincible ſtand againſt the Britiſh Government," were all meaſures which originated in Britain, and were adopted in America.

Whilſt theſe ſecret intrigues againſt the State were carrying on with our enemies in America, the meaſures of Government at home were loaded with the moſt opprobrious epithets. The ſteps which were taken to ſupport the dignity and authority of the State over the Colonies, were called a "cruel, tyrannous, and ruinous ſyſtem "of policy." And thoſe which were adopted to ſubdue the moſt unjuſtifiable and obſtinate rebellion, were ſtyled, "an unjuſt and ruinous war." Every engine was in motion, and every ſeditious ſcribbler was employed to poiſon the minds of the people, and to render the meaſures of adminiſtration odious in the eyes of the nation. Thoſe miſrepreſentations and falſehoods, which they thought would moſt readily captivate the vulgar, were induſtriouſly propagated. The preſſes poured forth their pamphlets and occaſional pieces, to ſhew the diſtreſſed ſtate of the kingdom, the decreaſe of its inhabitants, the immenſe debt and poverty of the nation, the want of the reſources of war, the impoſſibility of raiſing the neceſſary aids, the lawfulneſs of American oppoſition, and the injuſtice and cruelty

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cruelty of the war; which, it was boldly aſſerted, was intended, by the councils in which their Sovereign immediately preſides, to introduce deſpotic power in the Colonies. Nor were theſe doctrines confined to pamphlets and newſpapers. They were the conſtant themes of inflammatory declamations in both Houſes of Parliament.

Having by theſe ſeditious meaſures, raiſed the popular clamour againſt Government, and prevailed on a conſiderable part of the deluded people to ſupport them; having diſtracted the councils of the State, and induced them to treat with rebels, and to offer to give up the moſt eſſential right of the ſupreme authority—the right to tax thoſe Colonies which it was bound to protect; they adviſed their colleagues in ſedition in America, to reject the propoſitions, as "unreaſonable and inſidious." And theſe opprobrious epithets were tranſmitted from Weſtminſter to Philadelphia, and echoed back from the Congreſs to Weſtminſter again. And afterwards, when, through their private intrigues, they had ſacrificed the northern army, involved their country in a war with France, thrown the nation into a general deſpondency, and compelled Adminiſtration to offer terms of accommodation, little ſhort of independence itſelf; their object not being as yet ſecured, their ambition ungratified, the loaves and fiſhes unobtained, and the firmneſs and virtue of their Sovereign not yet conquered, they dreaded the proſpect of accommodation and peace with America; and therefore they adviſed the leaders in rebellion to reject even thoſe terms: aſſuring them, That Adminiſtration could not ſupport the war, and that they muſt ſoon grant to them independence. How happy is it for Britain, that theſe ſeditious men were miſtaken, and that the Congreſs purſued this fooliſh advice! fooliſh in

in reſpect to the views of Congreſs, as well as thoſe of the Faction in Britain!

They weakly imagined, that his Majeſty, alarmed at the proſpect of a war with France, and of the loſs of America, would change his confidential ſervants, and receive into his boſom thoſe men who were the ſole authors of thoſe diſtreſſes; who, when in office, by their ſeditious counſels, had laid the foundation of the war, and, through its whole progreſs, had encouraged and ſupported it; who had enjoyed the firſt offices of the State; and whoſe honour, integrity, and abilities, when weighed in the balance, had been found wanting; men who had avowedly oppoſed every meaſure which his Majeſty had wiſely projected to ſupport the authority of the State, and the independence of the nation. But, finding that his Majeſty met all the diſtreſſes, which theſe conſpirators had brought on their country, with a virtuous firmneſs, which baffled their expectations, they determined to proceed to yet more inſolent and violent meaſures. They reſolved, in their ſecret cabals, to impeach his confidential ſervants, and by that means to wreſt them from his ſervice. Such impeachments were impudently and boldly threatened in the great council of the State. While they were thus bringing their plot to maturity in Britain; while the natural reſources of this country were cried down, to the great encouragement of our foreign enemies, and a national deſpondency in a manner effected; while the Faction was ſtrenuouſly adviſing, and zealouſly contending, in both Houſes of Parliament, for withdrawing the troops from America, and, at the ſame time, oppoſing every meaſure which was neceſſary for the recovery of the revolted Colonies; their arch-agent, the General, with honourable fidelity, (for in ſome mens' opinions, their is honour even among

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among the conſpirators againſt the public weal), was taking every ſtep to procraſtinate the war; to plunge the nation yet farther in debt, and a more general deſpondency; and to render Adminiſtration more odious to the people. We have ſeen that, although by his "great ſucceſſes" obtained in leſs than four months, by only one half of his force, he "had nearly induced a general ſubmiſ-"ſion" of the Americans; yet, by his indolence and inaction, he procraſtinated the war during the ſpace of ſixteen months longer, and left the enemies in more ſpirits than when he began his operations.

That the Faction, or the General, incapable of feeling for the diſtreſſes of their country, intended to involve it in a miſchief of ſo great a magnitude, while it was embroiled in a war with its Colonies, charity forbids me to determine; although their inſatiable luſt for power, and thirſt for the emoluments of office, with the general tenor of their conduct, would perhaps even juſtify ſuch a deciſion. However, this is evident, that, upon the General's arrival in Britain, with a large retinue of his confidential friends, who were to be the vindicators of his ſhameful conduct in America, the Faction received him in their arms, and boldly vindicated his conduct both in and out of the Senate. Their force thus collected, they conceived that their plot was brought to its wiſhed-for maturity. They prepared for, and loudly threatened, impeachments and the block. But, previous to this meaſure, the whole cenſure and odium of the miſcarriages of the American war, of which they themſelves had been the authors, were to be caſt on the ſervants of the Crown. To effect this, anonymous charges againſt the General were carried into Parliament, and his character was to be vindicated in the great councils of the State, and no where elſe. In vain did

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the officers of Government, to whom he was alone accountable, declare, that they had no accuſations againſt him. Inſtead of petitioning their Sovereign for a Court-martial, the only proper court by which he could be tried, they inſtituted an unprecedented examination in the Houſe of Commons, under the pretence of vindicating the General, when their real deſign was to condemn the conduct of Adminiſtration, and to prepare the way for their threatened impeachment.

In this examination, they hoped to run alone. For a time they did ſo; but at length their ſecret deſign appearing evident, Adminiſtration was called on to vindicate the meaſures of their Sovereign. Many gentlemen of undoubted reputation, perfectly acquainted with the conduct of the war, and the ſtate of America, were ſummoned to give evidence reſpecting them. Of this the Faction was apprized. Only two witneſſes were examined. But ſuch was the credit and force of their evidence, that the Faction ſhrunk from the enquiry; the great council of the nation was convinced, that the conduct of Adminiſtration, in reſpect to the American war, ſtood clearly juſtified; and the deep-laid plot of the Faction was totally fruſtrated.

Such has been the conduct of the men, who, in exact imitation of their confederates in America, have, by their ſpecious and falſe clamours for liberty, been ſeducing their unwary and too credulous country to the brink of ruin! And ſuch are the evils, in which they have, by their cabals, with unabating induſtry, involved the nation! When will Britons, the moſt wealthy, the moſt free, and the moſt happy people on earth, diſcern their own good! When will the voice of wiſdom teach them to ſupport thoſe meaſures, and that power, which alone can preſerve their freedom and independence among nations! When will they ceaſe to be the inſtruments

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inſtruments of faction, and the unhappy dupes of lawleſs ambition!

Time has been, when the Princes on the throne have paid no regard to law, and broke over the ſacred bounds of their happy conſtitution; when they have deprived the worthieſt men, without law, of their perſonal liberty, and robbed the people of their property; and when they would have extended the prerogative to the utmoſt bounds of arbitrary power. How different, at this day, is the ſituation of Britons! They have a Sovereign on the throne, into whoſe heart a wiſh never yet entered that interfered with the happineſs of his ſubjects; who never yet received a farthing from his people without their conſent; who, inſtead of attempting to extend the prerogative, has, of his own accord, given up a part of that prerogative to ſecure the rights of his people;—a Sovereign, who, when the diſtreſſes and neceſſities ariſing from their own folly and ſeduction, lately compelled them to put unlimited confidence and power into his hands, to ſave the capital city of their kingdom from immediate deſtruction, and the nation itſelf from ruin, exerciſed it with more than parental lenity; and, having complied with the wiſhes of the virtuous part of the nation, and ſaved his country from confuſion and ruin, inſtantly, with a virtuous generoſity, gave it up;—a Sovereign, whoſe heart-felt wiſh, if we may judge from the whole tenor of his conduct, is, to preſerve their conſtitution of government inviolate, and to ſupport its *independence*, its *dignity* and *glory*, among nations; to recover the loſt dominions of the State; and to reduce his faithleſs and perfidious enemies to juſtice; which there can be no doubt of his effecting, if not obſtructed by the folly of his people, and the lawleſs and ſeditious views of a Faction, which has too long diſtracted his councils, and prevented the exertions of his power. And yet too many Britons,

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faſcinated by the ſpecious arts and deluſive wiles of thoſe political impoſtors, are conſtantly giving their ſupport, in oppoſition to the truly patriot meaſures of their Sovereign; ſacrificing their own happineſs at the alter of lawleſs ambition, and precipitating the moſt powerful and beautiful fabric of civil liberty remaining on the globe, to its final ruin.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

To Lieutenant-General Sir WILLIAM HOWE, *K. B.*

SIR,

HAVING, in the preceeding ſheets, travelled in much haſte through your laboured Defence, permit me to paſs, from the diſagreeable, though too often neceſſary, office of an accuſer, to that of vindicating the accuſed. I hoped, that, as a gentleman, you would have followed, in your obſervations, the example I had ſet you in my letters; in which, with as much delicacy of language as truth would poſſibly admit, I had confined my ſtrictures to your "profeſſional conduct," without ſuffering one ſyllable of perſonal abuſe, or one hint at the defects in your private moral character, however fair the mark, to eſcape from my pen. But in this hope, on your own account, I am diſappointed. Conſidering Mr. Galloway as the author of "Letters to a Nobleman," and wiſhing, by defaming his perſonal character, to leſſen his credit; and that the impoſitions on the public, in your Defence, might more readily paſs for truths; you deſert the field of decent and manly argument, and take a mean refuge

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under the abuſe of his private reputation. A conduct of this kind can need no comment; it can have no weight with a candid and ſenſible public; it is the uſual practice of the guilty, and the common weapon made uſe of to wound the innocent.

You do not venture to accuſe him of, although you ſtrongly inſinuate his diſloyalty:—You deny his influence in the province he lived in:—You boldly charge him with giving you falſe intelligence; and you meanly condeſcend to boaſt of your liberality towards him. Now, although no man can perceive what relation theſe matters can poſſibly have to a vindication of your "profeſſional conduct," I ſhall, on Mr. Galloway's account, examine them.

To give a gloſs to your inſinuations reſpecting his diſloyalty, you ſay: "This gentleman, in the beginning of the war, was elected a Member of Congreſs." What, Sir, does this prove to your purpoſe? It is well known to the public, that many gentlemen, who had before, and have ſince, given the moſt demonſtrative proofs of their loyalty, were elected by the then conſtitutional aſſemblies, and ſent to the firſt Congreſs with the moſt laudable and loyal deſigns,—to accommodate the alarming controverſy, to eſtabliſh a more permanent union between the two countries, and to ſtop the riſing ſedition. This was exactly the circumſtance of that gentleman, who refuſed the delegation on any other terms *. His inſtructions are long ſince before the public, and prove the fact; and it is known to many gentlemen now in London, from Pennſylvania, that, while in Congreſs, he faithfully purſued thoſe inſtructions †, uniformly exerting his influence and abilities to carry them into execution. That he, boldly, and unawed by the dangers which threatened

* See Mr. Galloway's Examination, p. 47, &c.
† See Appendix to Letters to a Nobleman.

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his perſon, in the tumults of riot and faction which he was oppoſing, reprobated and condemned every meaſure which tended to ſedition, and a ſeperation of the two countries. That when he found he could not ſtem the torrent of rebellion, he returned to the Aſſembly; and there again, as the ultimate meaſure he could purſue, to ſave the province he lived in, he reſolutely exerted his influence to induce them to diſapprove of the meaſures of Congreſs, and totally to ſecede from all connection with it. That having failed in this meaſure, on the queſtion, by one vote only, he was again elected a Member of the ſecond Congreſs, contrary to his own ſolemn and repeated refuſals to ſerve. That he continued thus elected until long after that Congreſs met; but as he did not attend, another was elected in his room. And yet ſuch was the earneſt deſire of the Congreſs to obtain his influence and concurrence in their meaſures, that Dr. Franklin came up to his ſeat in the country, to which he had retired, to ſolicit his union with them, and offered to procure his immediate re-election; all which he reſolutely refuſed. And afterwards, that, although his life was repeatedly threatened by the independent faction, and while his friends trembled for his ſafety, he, unawed by his danger, condemned in his publications the meaſures of Congreſs, and charged them with views of independence and treaſon, at a time when they publicly diſavowed them. Could it be poſſible for the candour of the public to aſk for further proof of this gentleman's uniform fidelity to his Sovereign, and attachment to the legal conſtitution of his country; his having abandoned a very valuable eſtate, and ſacrificed the independent happineſs of his family to thoſe principles, muſt certainly be that proof.

But you further add, "When my brother and "I, in the character of his Majeſty's Commiſ-

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" ſioners for reſtoring peace, publiſhed a procla-
" mation of indemnity, for all thoſe who had taken
" part in the rebellion, provided they ſhould ſur-
" render themſelves, and ſubſcribe a declaration
" of allegiance within a limited time. Mr. Gallo-
" way was among the firſt who came over to us
" from Philadelphia;" thus intimating that he had taken part in the rebellion, and came over to you to take the benefit of the pardon offered by the proclamation. Now, Sir, although this is all invention, I do not ſuſpect it is your own. I wiſh, for the ſake of your own character, to believe it to be that of your venal dependant, whom you have long ſince amply rewarded for writing your vindication; for you know you was not, where you ought to have been, with your army at Brunſwick, when Mr. Galloway came over to it, but in New York; and, ſhould I deſcend to follow your example, of attacking private reputation, I could, perhaps, inform the public, what allurements led you thither. However, as this is a practice of which I diſapprove, I ſhall not adopt it, although your own conduct has juſtified it. But, Sir, the real truth is—Your proclamation is dated 30th November, and was not publiſhed within your own lines at Brunſwick, in New Jerſey, near ſixty miles diſtant from Philadelphia, from whence you ſay Mr. Galloway came, until the day following; and on this very day, early in the morning, he was within your lines, with General Vaughan, in Brunſwick. Driven from his family, by an order of the Convention at Philadelphia for the impriſonment of his perſon, he left Penſylvania on the twenty-eighth, two days before the date of your proclamation, and eleven days before one of them was ſent to the Province he left; for you may recollect, that thoſe proclamations were not ſent to Pennſylvania until after your arrival at Trenton, on the eighth of

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of December, when your Aid-de-camp requeſted Mr. Galloway to ſend fifty of them to Philadelphia; which he accordingly did, by a perſon on whom he could depend. I have mentioned General Vaughan, who, I have no doubt, will recollect the time of Mr. Galloway's coming into Brunſwick, and that he was the firſt who ſhewed to him the proclamation. Thus, Sir, you will perceive into what a dilemma you have brought yourſelf, by truſting to the invention of one who was with you at New York, and could know nothing about the time when Mr. Galloway came over to your lines. But, if you really thought Mr. Galloway "had taken part in "the rebellion," why did you afterwards appoint him to ſo many places of high truſt and importance in his Majeſty's ſervice, giving him an opportunity daily to betray it? How can you account for a conduct, ſo inconſiſtent with your manifeſt duty, either to your Sovereign or Country?

You next meanly deſcend to mention your liberality to Mr. Galloway. Mean, indeed, it will appear, when that gentleman's ſervices and ſacrifices are conſidered, had it flowed from your private purſe; and yet meaner ſtill, when it is known you paid it out of the public money. And how much did this profuſe liberality amount to? No more than 770l. in which the wages of a clerk are included, by your own account, for ſervices performed during eighteen months.

And what were the ſervices he performed? He acted as Superintendant of the Police, which he digeſted, regulated, and eſtabliſhed at your requeſt. In this office was included the preſervation of the order, internal peace, and ſafety of the firſt city in America. He ſerved you as Superintendant of the Port; an office eſtabliſhed to receive an account of all the cargoes imported for the uſe of your army, and the people within your lines, and to pre-

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prevent their being clandeſtinely carried to the enemy. He ſerved you as Superintendant of the prohibited Articles. In this office the utmoſt care and attention was neceſſary, to prevent the enemy from being ſupplied with them. He alſo ſuperintended every avenue of your lines, and nightly received the reports of perſons appointed to attend them. He was conſtantly employed by you, from the time of your arrival at the head Elk, to the day of your reſignation, in obtaining for you intelligence of the ſtate and movements of the enemy; and gained more important and better intelligence for leſs than 500l. than you paid for it New York, as your friends confeſſed, upwards of 5000l. He was often applied to by the Commiſſaries and Quartermaſters, for his advice and aſſiſtance in procuring forage and proviſions for your army. He was inceſſantly called on to furniſh you with guides and horſes for your parties. He raiſed a troop of light horſe, and embodied eighty loyal volunteers, who ſerved without pay or clothing; performing, under his own direction, thoſe many and uncommon ſervices mentioned in a note of his Examination, p. 80. He alſo furniſhed you with many maps, delineating the roads for the march of your army; and a principal one, with all the roads between the Delaware and the Suſquehannah, either drawn by himſelf, or under his immediate direction; with a variety of other ſervices, totally independant of the public offices; which, had they been done by your favourite officers, would have coſt you ten times the amount of the whole ſum of your profuſe liberality to him. Such are the ſervices of Mr. Galloway, which you have not had the honour to mention. Your liberality, and thoſe ſervices, are now before the public, to whoſe candid reflections both are ſubmitted. I ſhall only remark, that, had you dealt out the public money, committed to your charge, with the ſame

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ſame œconomy to your favourites, as you did to this gentleman, we ſhould not have ſeen ſo many American Nabobs rolling in wealth, and luxurioufly living on the ſpoils of their country, as have lately returned from America.

In reſpect to Mr. Galloway's popularity in the provinces in which he had lived, is too well aſcertained by a variety of facts too notorious to be affected by your negation; but as the charge of his want of influence does not injure his private and moral character, I ſhall ſay no more on that ſubject.

Of a very different nature is your next and laſt charge. You ſay, You "at firſt paid attention to "his opinions, and relied upon him for procuring "you ſecret intelligence; but you afterwards found "your confidence miſplaced; his ideas you diſ-"covered to be viſionary; and his intelligence was "either ill-founded, or ſo frequently exaggerated, "that it would not have been ſafe to act upon it." If theſe aſſertions be truths, why did you continue conſtantly to employ him in the line of intelligence, to the day of your reſignation? Why was your Aid-de-camp almoſt daily coming down from you to him, deſiring him to ſend out for intelligence? Why did you not altogether rely on your "other "channels of ſecret communication?" How unaccountable then muſt it appear to men of ſenſe, that you ſhould be ſo weak as to continue to truſt a perſon whoſe "ideas you had diſcovered to be "viſionary," and whoſe "intelligence to be ill-"founded, exaggerated," and falſe?

But you further add, "Having once detected him "in ſending me a piece of intelligence from a perſon, "who afterwards, upon examination, gave a very "different account of the matter, I immediately "changed the channel of ſecret communication, "and, in future, conſidered Mr. Galloway as a nu-

"gatory

" gatory informer." How dark and unmanly is this charge! Againſt charges ſo general, ſo perfectly undefined, and ſo artfully made, it is impoſſible for the moſt innocent perſon to vindicate himſelf; for you have prudently avoided either mentioning the perſon who " gave a very different ac-" count of the matter," or the matter itſelf. Can you believe, that this ſtab in the dark, at a private character, will not be condemned by the candour and good ſenſe of the public? It will ſoon, Sir, appear, that, to the laſt hour of your command, you entertained a high opinion of Mr. Galloway's honour and probity. Did you at the time, or during your command in America, give him the leaſt hint of your ſuſpecting the intelligence he ſent you? Had you done this, he would, in all probability, have convinced you that he did not deſerve your ſuſpicion, if, in reality, you ever entertained one; he might have convinced you of his having received the intelligence from the perſon who denied it, and that this perſon had deceived you. This would not, Sir, have been the only inſtance in which you were deceived. One I will beg leave to remind you of, in which your favours and confidence were totally miſplaced. Mr. Willing, and his partner, Mr. Morris, had been, from the beginning of the war, the agents of the Congreſs for ſupplying their naval and military ſtores. Their diſaffection to their Sovereign, and their rebellious principles, were proved by a number of letters, intercepted by your noble brother; and therefore Mr. Galloway called on Mr. Willing, in Philadelphia, by your expreſs order, to take the oaths of allegiance; and although he refuſed, yet he found ſo much favour in your ſight, as to obtain a countermand of that order, and a diſpenſation from taking the oath; and even after this, you made him and his flour-broker, Mr. Brown, your confidential negotiators with

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with the Members of the Congreſs. The American records will ſupport this truth; and further, that both Mr. Willing and his notable broker deceived and betrayed you.

However, dark and inſidious as this charge is, it is fortunate for Mr. Galloway, that there is proof abundantly ſufficient to convince the unprejudiced, that all you have aſſerted reſpecting his diſloyalty, his unpopularity, and deception, is of recent invention, and had no exiſtence in your mind when you left America; it is proof which you yourſelf will not deny the credit of, being no leſs than the teſtimony of Sir William Howe himſelf, under his own hand, and the ſeal of his arms.

Six days only before you left Philadelphia, impreſſed with the faithful ſervices of Mr. Galloway, you not only warmly recommend him to the attention of your ſucceſſor, but wrote to him the following letter:

"SIR, *Philadelphia, May* 18, 1778.

"THE ſalutary effects of the regulations in the eſtabliſhment of the police in this city, have ſo fully juſtified my choice of the gentlemen in whoſe hands I placed the important truſt, that I cannot, either as a public or private man, withhold this teſtimony of my ſenſe of their ſervices; and I beg, that, to the general reſpect paid you, as an upright, able magiſtrate, and friend to the legal conſtitution of your country, I may be permitted the honour of adding my particular aſſurance of the great perſonal eſteem with which I am,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

Joſeph Galloway, Eſq. W. HOWE."

Now, Sir, permit me to aſk:—If Mr. Galloway was diſloyal, how could you give him your teſtimony that he was "a friend to the legal conſtitu-" tion of his country?" If he was unpopular, how could

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could he poſſeſs "the general reſpect as an up-"right magiſtrate?" If he had deceived you, in giving you falſe intelligence, why could you not very juſtly, "either as a public or private man, "withhold your ſenſe of his ſervices?" And, if he was unworthy of your confidence, how unworthy was it in Sir William Howe to give him particular aſſurances of his great perſonal eſteem? Theſe are paradoxes which we muſt leave to be unfolded in your next attempt to vindicate your conduct in the American war.

Such was your opinion of Mr. Galloway when you left America, and ſuch it continued to be for ſome time in England; for you was the firſt gentleman, your own and your noble brother's ſecretaries excepted, who paid him the honour of a viſit on his arrival in London. Nor was it changed the day before his examination in the Houſe of Commons, on the conduct of the American war; for you well remember, that, on that day, your noble brother, who was pleading in your defence, and therefore we may preſume ſpoke your ſentiments, delivered, when Mr. Galloway was preſent, an high though fulſome panegyric on his honour and integrity. But how changeable and uncertain are the good opinions of men! Mr. Galloway being examined, the film which had before inverted his Lordſhip's optics, and repreſented Mr. Galloway as a man of integrity, became ſuddenly removed; and from that inſtant he ſtood metamorphoſed from an honourable man into "Shakeſpear's apothecary;" and now, by the ſame magical influence, you have transformed him from a man worty of "general reſpect, as an "upright magiſtrate," into one of no popularity; from an upright man into a deceiver; and from a "friend to the legal conſtitution of his country," into a rebel.

The AUTHOR.

No.

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No. II.

Copy of a LETTER from Mr. Samuel Kirk, Grocer, in Nottingham, to General Howe.

SIR,

I CANNOT eaſily deſcribe the diſcontent and diſappointment which appears among a very great number of your conſtituents here, on account of your having accepted a command in the expedition againſt our American brethren. From the opinion I had of your integrity in general, I voted for you at the late election, notwithſtanding you had, in ſome recent inſtances, acted contrary to my ſentiments. I took the liberty to tell you ſo, and aſked you the following queſtions, viz.

Whether you thought our whole army would not be inſufficient to conquer America?—If you did not think the Miniſtry had puſhed this matter too far?—Whether if you ſhould be appointed to a command, you would refuſe?—And whether you would vote for the repeal of the four acts of parliament, which you are now going to enforce?

If I am not miſtaken, and I believe that you will allow that I am not, you anſwered to every one of theſe queſtions in the affirmative. This, out of pure regard to your intereſt here, I have made known to numbers, who were in the ſame ſtate of ſuſpenſe with myſelf, as to the propriety of our conduct at the election; and it has ſerved to remove, in a great meaſure, the ill impreſſions, by which you yourſelf was very ſenſibly affected while among us.

We are, however, aſſured that General Howe is preparing to embark for America to enforce the acts. Judge, if you can, the confuſion this occaſions among your friends. The moſt plauſible excuſe that is made among us is, that the King ſent for you, and what could you do?

Now

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Now I muſt beg leave to ſay, that I think you might have acted the part of a great man, in refuſing to go againſt this people on many accounts. But to ſay nothing of politics, your brother died there. They have ſhewn their gratitude to your name and family, by erecting a monument to him, who bled in the cauſe of freedom amongſt them; to him, who dared to act in oppoſition to a Court, when his judgment informed him his oppoſition was right; and yet he died a ſoldier. Our paſſions were wrought upon at the election by the mention of his honoured name, in a paper which you may perhaps remember; and may I not mention it to you, with a wiſh that you may follow ſo amiable, ſo diſintereſted, ſo revered a character? I believe you have not even an enemy, who would impute your refuſing to go, to want of courage; nay, your courage would be made more conſpicuous by the refuſal.

If you ſhould reſolve, at all events, to go, I don't wiſh you may fall, as many do; but I cannot ſay I wiſh ſucceſs to the undertaking. Theſe, Sir, are the ſentiments of many here, as well as of

Nottingham, Your obedient ſervant,
Feb. 10, 1775. SAMUEL KIRK.

General HOWE to Mr. KIRK.

SIR,

I HAVE read your letter of the 10th, with ſo much the greater degree of concern, as I had flattered myſelf I had removed all thoſe prejudices you had entertained againſt me, when I had the pleaſure of being with you at the election. The rancour and malice of thoſe who were not my friends at the election, fill me with aſtoniſhment at the inſtance you mention of their wiſhes for my fall in America.

My going thither was not my own ſeeking. I was ordered, and could not refuſe, without incurring the odious name of backwardneſs to ſerve my country in diſtreſs.—So contrary are men's opinions

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nions here, to ſome with you, that, inſtead of the groſſeſt abuſe, I have been moſt highly complimented upon the occaſion, by thoſe who are even averſe to the meaſures of Adminiſtration.

Every man's private feelings ought to give way to the ſervice of the public at all times; but particularly when of that delicate nature in which our affairs ſtand at preſent. Whatever opprobious *names* I may be called at Nottingham, I am encouraged to ſay, that no ſuch *epithets* will be put on it in any other quarter. I intreat you in particular, to *ſuſpend your judgment* in thoſe matters, *until the event proves me unworthy of your ſupport.*

One word for America: You are deceived if you ſuppoſe there are not many loyal and peaceable ſubjects in that country. I may ſafely aſſert, that the inſurgents are very few, in compariſon of the whole people.

There are certainly thoſe who do not agree to a taxation from hence, but who do not wiſh to ſever themſelves from the ſupremacy of this country. This laſt ſet of men, I ſhould hope, by their being relieved from the *grievance*, will moſt readily return to all due obedience to the laws.

With reſpect to the few who, I am told, deſire to ſeparate themſelves from the mother country, I truſt, when they find they are not ſupported in their frantic ideas by the more moderate, which I have deſcribed, they will, from fear of puniſhment, ſubſide to the laws.

With regard to trade, this country muſt now fix the foundation of its ſtability with America, by procuring a laſting obedience to our laws, without which it can never arrive at that permanency, ſo abſolutely requiſite for the well-being of this empire.

I am, Sir,

Your faithful and obedient ſervant,

Queen-ſtreet, Feb. 21, 1775. W. HOWE.

No.

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No. III.

A LETTER, from the Committee of Congreſs to the Preſident, found among the Papers of Henry Laurens, Eſq.

Camp, at Valley-forge, Feb. 12, 1778.

SIR,

WE had flattered ourſelves that, before this time, the pleaſure of Congreſs would be made known to us reſpecting the quarter-maſter's department. We fear our letter upon this ſubject has miſcarried, or the conſideration of it yielded to other buſineſs. You will therefore pardon us, Sir, when we again ſolicit your attention, as an object of the laſt importance; on which not only the future ſucceſs of your arms, but the preſent exiſtence of your army, immediately depend. The influence of this office is ſo diffuſive through every part of your military ſyſtem, that neither the wiſdom of arrangement, the ſpirit of enterpriſe, or favourable opportunity, will be of any avail, if this great wheel in the machine ſtops, or moves heavily. We find ourſelves embarraſſed in entering on this ſubject, leſt a bare recital of facts ſhould carry an imputation (which we do not intend) on thoſe gentlemen who have lately conducted it. We are ſenſible great and juſt allowances are to be made for the peculiarity of their ſituation, and we are perhaps not fully acquainted with all their difficulties. It is our duty, Sir, to inform you it is not our intention to cenſure; and be aſſured, nothing but a ſenſe of the obligations we are under, to poſtpone all other conſiderations to the public ſafety, could induce us to perform the unpleaſing taſk.——We find, Sir, the property of the continent diſperſed over the whole country; not an encampment, rout of the army, or conſiderable road, but abounds with waggons, left to the mercy of the weather, and the will of the inhabitants; large quantity of intrenching tools have, in like manner,

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manner, been left in various hands, under no other ſecurity, that we can learn, than the honeſty of thoſe who have them in poſſeſſion. Not leſs than 3000 ſpades and ſhovels, and the like number of tomahawks, have been lately diſcovered and collected in the vicinity of the camp, by an order from one of the general officers. In the ſame way, a quantity of tents and tent cloth, after having lain a whole ſummer in a farmer's barn, and unknown to the officer of the department, was lately diſcovered, and brought to camp by a ſpecial order from the General.——From theſe inſtances, we preſume, there may be many other ſtores yet unknown and uncollected, which require immediate care and attention.

When, in compliance with the expectations of Congreſs, and the wiſhes of the country, the army was thrown into huts, inſtead of retiring to more diſtant and convenient quarters, the troops juſtly expected every comfort which the ſurrounding country could afford. Among theſe, a providential care in the article of ſtraw, would probably have ſaved the lives of many of our brave ſoldiers, who have now paid the great debt of nature. Unprovided with this, or materials to raiſe them from the cold and wet earth, ſickneſs and mortality have ſpread through their quarters in an aſtoniſhing degree. Notwithſtanding the diligence of the phyſicians and ſurgeons, of whom we hear no complaint, the ſick and dead liſt has increaſed one third in the laſt week's returns, which was one third greater than the week preceding; and, from the preſent inclement weather, will probably increaſe in a much greater proportion. Nothing, Sir, can equal their ſufferings, except the patience and fortitude with which the faithful part of the army endure them. Thoſe of a different character deſert in conſiderable numbers.

We

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We muſt alſo obſerve, that a number of the troops have now ſome time been prepared for inoculation; but the operation muſt be delayed, for want of this and other neceſſaries within the providence of this department. We need not point out the fatal conſequences of this delay in forming a new army, or the preſervation of this. Almoſt every day furniſhes inſtances of the ſmall-pox in the natural way. Hitherto ſuch vigilance and care has been uſed, that the contagion has not ſpread; but ſurely it is highly incumbent upon us, if poſſible, to annihilate the danger.

We need not point out the effect this circumſtance will have upon the new draughted troops, if not carefully guarded; they are too obvious to need enumeration. In conference with the forage-maſter on this ſubject (which though in appearance trifling, is really important) he acquainted us that, though out of his line, he would have procured it, if waggons could have been furniſhed him for that purpoſe.

The want of horſes and waggons for the ordinary as well as extraordinary occaſions of the army, preſſes upon us, if poſſible with equal force; almoſt every ſpecies of camp tranſportation is now performed by men, who, without a murmur, patiently yoke themſelves to little carriages of their own making, or load their wood and proviſions on their backs—Should the enemy, encouraged by the growing weakneſs of your troops, be led to make a ſucceſsful impreſſion upon your camp, your artillery would now undoubtedly fall into their hands, for want of horſes to remove it.—But theſe are ſmaller and tolerable evils, when compared with the imminent danger of your troops, periſhing with famine, or diſperſing in ſearch of food. The commiſſioners, in addition to their ſupplies of live cattle, which are precarious, have found a great quan-

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lity of pork in New Jersey, of which, by a failure of waggons, not one barrel has reached the camp.

The orders were given for that purpose as early as the 4th of January.—In yesterday's conference with the General, he informed us, that some brigades had been four days without meat; and that even the common soldiers had been at his quarters to make known their wants.——At present, Sir, there is not one gentleman of any rank in this department, though the duties of the office require a constant and unremitted attention. In whatever view, therefore the object presents itself, we trust you will discern, that the most essential interests are connected with it. The season of preparation for next campaign, is passing swiftly away. Be assured, Sir, that its operations will be ineffectual, either for offence or protection, if an arrangement is not immediately made, and the most vigorous exertions used to procure the necessary supplies.—Permit us to say, that a moment's time should not be lost in placing a man of approved abilities and extensive capacity at the head of the department, who will restore it to some degree of regularity and order; whose provident care will immediately restore the present wants of the army, and extend itself to those which must be satisfied, before we can expect vigour, enterprise, or success.—When your Committee reflect upon the increased difficulties of procuring waggons, horses, tents, and the numerous train of articles dependent on this office, without which your army cannot even move, they feel the greatest anxiety, lest the utmost skill, diligence, and address, will prove ineffectual to satisfy the growing demand. All other considerations vanish before this object; and we most earnestly wish Congress may be impressed in a proper degree with its necessity and importance.

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THE

TRIAL OF REPUBLICANISM:

OR,

A Series of Political Papers,

PROVING

THE INJURIOUS AND DEBASING CONSEQUENCES

OF

Republican Government, and Written Constitutions.

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS

TO

THE HON. THOMAS ERSKINE, ESQ.

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THE

TRIAL OF REPUBLICANISM,

&c. &c.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS.

SIR,

THE preſent have been called "the "days of diſloyalty," and, in proof of the juſtice of the appellation, the clamours for what has been termed *conſtitutional and parliamentary reform* have been cited. But, when I recollect having heard, that, forty years ago, a pair of ſleeve-buttons were enhanced to triple their value by the words *Wilkes and Liberty*, imprinted on the rim; when I recollect, that the ſame paltry device, ſtamped upon the pot, gave the fancied taſte of ſtingo to the vapid and muddy dribblings of the barrel; when I recollect, that a miſerable adventurer, without anceſtry, without fortune, without character, without any thing but impudence, obſcenity and blaſphemy to recommend him, ſucceeded, merely by coupling his name to that of *liberty*, in terrifying Britiſh Juſtice from her purpoſe, and in ſhaking the very baſis of the Throne; when I recollect theſe things, I cannot help believing, that, notwithſtanding the proceedings

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ings of the Whig Club, we are quite as *loyal*, and not quite ſo *fooliſh*, as our fathers.

But, Sir, from whatever ſource *political deluſion* may come, by whatever means it may be propagated, and in whatever degree it may prevail, can its prevalence ever be conducive either to the intereſt or honour of the nation? Can it enlarge our underſtandings, or ſtrengthen the integrity of our hearts? Can it leſſen our wants, or increaſe our comforts? At home can it ever make us happy? Abroad can it ever make us feared, or reſpected?—Experience, ſad experience, ſays NO. On the contrary, it is the cauſe of all our calamities and diſgraces, domeſtic and foreign. It is a ſlow but deadly poiſon to Britain. Amidſt thoſe bleſſings, which are the envy of her neighbours, it makes her peeviſh, malecontented and mad; it mines her conſtitution, it convulſes her frame, it enervates thoſe councils, and palſies thoſe arms, with which ſhe would, otherwiſe, annihilate her foes.

Convinced, as you muſt be, of the truth of theſe remarks, let me hope, that you will patronize an endeavour, however humble, to deſtroy the faſhionable deluſion of the times; let me hope, that you will turn from the viſion of theory, and liſten to the ſolid admonitions of practice; let me hope, that the picture I ſhall exhibit of the injurious and debaſing conſequences of *Republican government, and Written Conſtitutions*, will induce you to abandon thoſe projects of innovation, for which you have ſo long been an advocate; and, finally, let me hope, that, if *you* deſpiſe the timely and awful warning, the people of this kingdom will not.

In the proſecution of this undertaking, Sir, I ſhall proceed upon a plan, which is, I believe, almoſt entirely new, and which is certainly better than any other, ſuited to my humble capacity. When a matter is to be decided by *reaſoning*, the reſult

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reſult is ſeldom concluſive, and always precarious; becauſe, full as much depends upon the abilities of the diſputants, as upon the intrinſic merit of the caſe. Even ſuppoſing a perfect equality, in point of talents, to ſubſiſt between the opponets, the obſtacles to a juſt determination are not removed; for, at the very threſhold of the controverſy, oppoſite aſſertions contend for the preference; and, ſhould both writers and readers agree as to the premiſes, it is a thouſand to one if they concur in the deductions. Thus are all *argumentative* conteſts rendered interminable, and thus are the people, ſome of them pleaſed, others offended, others amuſed, but a far greater portion bewildered, or miſled. To obviate ſimilar conſequences in the preſent inſtance, I ſhall lay *reaſoning* aſide, and rely entirely upon *facts*. That my arrangement may contribute as much as poſſible to a clear comprehenſion of my matter, I ſhall adopt that form of proceeding which is moſt familiar to Engliſhmen. I ſhall ſuppoſe you the advocate of republicaniſm, and myſelf its accuſer; and the people of this kingdom I ſhall ſuppoſe a Jury impannelled to try the iſſue of the cauſe. Having made theſe previous diſpoſitions, I thus addreſs myſelf to the unperverted good-ſenſe, and uncorrupted integrity of the nation.

No. I.

GENTLEMEN OF THE JURY,

THE inſolent repulican, PAINE, (whoſe work *Mr. Erſkine defended*,) tells the people of England, that they are *ſlaves*, becauſe they are governed by a king, and becauſe the conſtitution of their government does not, like a legal contract, conſiſt of a cer-

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a certain number of articles, defining the rights and circumſcribing the power of the parties. I have not the injuſtice to ſay, or to inſinuate, that Mr. Erſkine, or any of his noble and honourable friends, carry their notions to this exceſs of abſurdity; but, I ſhall not be accuſed of a want of candour in aſſerting, that their vehement and perſevering clamours for "reform" do directly tend to unſettle the minds of the people, and to make them ſigh for a ſtate of things *ſomewhat reſembling* that, which theſe honourable men have very judiciouſly left it for Paine, and his more daring followers to deſcribe. The terrific example of France has hitherto operated as a ſalutary check to the progreſs of the republican doctrines; but, "France," ſay the partizans of innovation, "is yet in a *revolutionary* ſtate, and "is not, therefore, to be cited as an example of "the *durable* conſequences of the change, which "we propoſe. For this ſort of example," ſay they, "we muſt look to America, where the buſi- "neſs of revolution is at an end; where the peo- "ple are the ſovereign, and the ſovereign is the "people; where a *written conſtitution*, a *ſuffrage al- "moſt univerſal*, an *elected chief magiſtrate*, and a *fre- "quent rotation in office*, have ſhut up the avenues to "political intrigue and corruption, have filled the "public councils with wiſdom and integrity, have "produced a prompt and equal operation of the "laws, have mended the morals, augmented the "happineſs, and ſecured, for ever, the freedom of "the people."—Aſtoniſhing deluſion! how fatally *ſome* of its effects have been felt by thoſe thouſands of unfortunate Britons, who have been inveigled from their competent profeſſions and comfortable homes, to eke out a miſerable exiſtence, to periſh like beggars, and be buried like dogs, in America. But, the ſufferings of theſe our deluded fellow ſubjects, however great, however painful to

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contemplate, are of trifling importance, when compared to thoſe evils, which, by the ſame means, may be finally produced *in this kingdom*. To put an end, therefore, to this dangerous deluſion appears to me to be ſo neceſſary an undertaking, an act of juſtice and of mercy ſo preſſingly ſolicited from any and from every man, that, notwithſtanding the admonitions of conſcious inability, I venture to preſent myſelf to you as the accuſer of Republicaniſm, pledging myſelf to prove, by uncontrovertable evidence, that it has been, and that it ſtill is, productive of every evil that can poſſibly be traced to political cauſes.

I am not unaware of the paſſions and prejudices I have to encounter. "He that goeth about," ſays the venerable Hooker, "to perſuade a multitude, "*that they are not ſo well governed as they ought to be*, "ſhall never want attentive and favourable hearers; "becauſe ſuch as openly reprove ſuppoſed diſor- "ders of ſtate, are taken for principal friends to "the common benefit of all, and for men that carry "ſingular freedom of mind. That which wanteth "in the weight of their ſpeech, is ſupplied by the "aptneſs of men's minds to accept and believe it. "Whereas, on the other ſide, *if we maintain things* "*that are eſtabliſhed*, we have not only to ſtrive with "a number of heavy prejudices, deeply rooted in "the hearts of men, who think that herein we ſave "the time, and ſpeak in favour of the preſent ſtate, "becauſe thereby we either hold, or ſeek preferment; but alſo to bear ſuch exceptions as minds, "ſo averted beforehand, uſually take againſt that "which they are loth ſhould be poured into them." —Such, Gentlemen, were the obſtacles to the progreſs of truth, two hundred years ago; ſuch are they at this day, and ſuch will they ever remain. But, there are ſome of theſe obſtacles, which do not I preſume, preſent themſelves to me. I neither hold,

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hold, nor ſeek, preferment; nor is it at all probable, that I ever ſhall exerciſe, or enjoy the emoluments of, any. Beſides, they are not *opinions*, but *facts*, which I have to lay before you. Nor ſhall theſe facts be drawn from antiquated hiſtory, the authenticity of which you might doubt; but from a ſtate of things this moment in exerciſe. Again; they ſhall not be ſought for amongſt the Venetians, the Genoeſe, the Swiſs, the Dutch, or any other outlandiſh race, but amongſt a people deſcended from the ſame ſtock with yourſelves; ſpeaking the ſame language, having the ſame ſober temper, the ſame habits, cuſtoms, and manners, and differing from you only in thoſe points where the revolution in their government have had an immediate effect. And, as to my *evidence*, it ſhall not be ſuch as was given, at Maidſtone, *to the character of O'Connor*, but rather ſuch as was afterwards given to that character by O'Connor himſelf: it ſhall come from neither the friends nor the enemies of republicaniſm, but from *the lips of the republicans themſelves*. With all theſe claims to your attention and belief, I will not ſo far diſparage your wiſdom or your juſtice, as to doubt of a verdict in my favour.

The firſt *witneſs* that I ſhall call is a very old friend of ours, the "Reverend" DOCTOR PRIESTLY. This reverend gentleman wrote and publiſhed, during the ſummer of 1799, twelve letters, addreſſed to his neighbours, the inhabitants of Northumberland, in the State of Pennſylvania. It is from theſe letters that I am about to extract the confeſſions of the Doctor, who, you will pleaſe to obſerve, gentlemen, is a ſort of *King's Evidence* in this caſe. But, to proceed to the examination.

PORCUPINE.—Doctor Prieſtly, it is very well known, that you croſſed the Atlantic in ſearch of *liberty*; be ſo good, therefore, as to inform the jury, what has been the reſult of your purſuit; whether you

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you have found things to anſwer your expectation; whether a *written conſtitution*, is ſo complete a barrier, as you thought it, againſt the abuſe of power; whether the repreſentatives of the people, in America, are more independent of the executive, than the parliament of England are of the king; and of ſuch other matter as you may have gathered from experience.

DOCTOR PRIESTLEY.—(Letter x. p. 14.)—"When I left England—"

JURYMAN—Be good enough to ſpeak out. What are you aſhamed of, man?

DOCTOR PRIESTLEY.—"When I left England" [*ſighs heavily*], "I was induced to come hither chiefly on account of my high admiration of the conſtitution of your government. It was, at that time, the only one that had been drawn up with deliberation by perſons appointed for that expreſs purpoſe, and ſolemnly accepted by the nation. It was wholly founded on the *rights of man*, and the *ſovereignty of the people*. There were no hereditary honours, or powers of any kind, and no form of religion eſtabliſhed by law. The power of making peace or war, and alſo that of regulating commerce with foreign nations, as well as among yourſelves, was wiſely placed in the congreſs; and that great and neceſſary guard of liberty, *the freedom of the preſs*, was uncontrouled. To my great *ſurpriſe* and *mortification*, however, I now find, that *ſeveral* of theſe articles, eſſential to a *truly* free government, have been, in my opinion, on one pretence or on an other, *infringed*. Or, if the preſent ſtate of things be really agreeable to the Conſtitution, it was not drawn up for the uſe of plain men, but of very acute lawyers only. Certainly the comment does not naturally flow from the text; or there was in the letter of the conſtitution a latent ambiguity, which *defeats the profeſſed object of it*. Thus becauſe your

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your Conſtitution gives to the Preſident, and two thirds of the Senate, the power of making treaties with foreign powers, and treaties may relate to any ſubject in which different ſtates may be concerned, they may make treaties of alliance, offenſive and defenſive, and alſo treaties of commerce; and by this means all interference of the proper repreſentatives of the people, either in the buſineſs of commerce, or of peace and war, in which they are moſt concerned, and which they therefore ought, in reaſon, to have the moſt controul, is *effectually precluded.* The treaty, ſhackling their commerce, or involving them in a war, is actually made independently of them, and all their objections to it have no effect.—Since treaties become parts of the law, by which the courts of juſtice are bound, I do not ſee but that it is in the power of the Preſident and two thirds of the Senate, that is, I believe, of *twenty-one men*, to "*bind the country in all caſes whatſoever.*"—It is, moreover, contended by the friends of Government, that when, in conſequence of any treaty, money is to be raiſed to carry it into effect, the repreſentatives of the nation, who give the money, *muſt abſolutely raiſe the ſum required*, or, as the phraſe is, *make the appropriations*; having no other choice than that of raiſing it in what they may think the beſt manner.—This is a power which *even the Parliament of Great Britain has not yet been brought to ſurrender.* There the King has, indeed, the nominal power of making peace and war, and alſo treaties of every kind. But, if *money* be neceſſary to carry them into execution, the treaties come under diſcuſſion in the Houſe of Commons, and the people give, or withhold, their money as they think proper; ſo that they have a virtual negative on all the meaſures of the Court. And was not this *intended* by the framers of your Conſtitution too? Could they give the Congreſs the ſole

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power of making peace and war, in one part of the inſtrument, and take it out of their hands in another? Such manifeſt inconſiſtency and deceit is not to be ſuppoſed."

PORCUPINE.—Very well, Doctor: you ſpeak like an honeſt man. But, you ſaid ſomething about that "invaluable bleſſing," the *liberty of the preſs*: In what degree has it been controuled?

DOCTOR PRIESTLEY.—(Letter x. p. 17.)—"Laws calculated to reſtrain the freedom of ſpeech and of the preſs have been ſo conſtantly the reſort of *arbitrary* Governments, that I was, beyond meaſure, aſtoniſhed to find them introduced *here*; and yet, in ſome reſpects, the *laws that have lately been made by Congreſs are more ſevere than thoſe in England.*"

PORCUPINE.—Very well, Sir: but, notwithſtanding you have been ſo "diſappointed," ſo "ſurpriſed," "mortified," and "beyond meaſure aſtoniſhed;" notwithſtanding, the little pamphlet, called *The Conſtitution* (which was "founded on the *Rights of Man* and the *Sovereignty of the People*,") has proved to be a dead letter, a mere bauble, to amuſe the ſovereign citizens of America; notwithſtanding all the important powers lodged in the repreſentatives of the people have been uſurped and exerciſed by a junto of "*twenty-one men*;" notwithſtanding the laws, reſtraining the freedom of ſpeech and of the preſs, are more ſevere than thoſe in England; notwithſtanding all this, it is very poſſible that no evil *conſequences* may have reſulted therefrom. If the country be in a ſtate of improvement; if political harmony prevail amongſt the people; and if they are enlightened, virtuous, and pious, the Government may ſtill be good, though the *written* Conſtitution have long ago lighted the ſegars of the Preſident and his pot-companions.—Be ſo good, therefore, as to inform the jury as to thoſe points which

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go to prove the practical effects of the American Government.

Doctor Priestley.—(Letter xii. p. 40).—"A foreigner travelling in the interior parts of this country, and finding the want of roads, bridges, and inns, wonders that things of such manifest utility should not have had more attention paid to them, when he sees that *great sums are raised and expended on objects, the use of which is, at best, very doubtful.* And men of letters coming to reside here find their hands tied up. Books of literature cannot be had, and philosophical instruments can neither be made nor purchased. Every thing of this kind" [and, he might say, of *every other kind* of manufactured articles] "must be had from Europe, and *pay a duty on importation.*—But all this may be short-sighted speculation; and it may be, nay I doubt not at is better for the world at large, that its progress should not be so rapid; but a long state of infancy, childhood, and folly, should precede that of manhood and true wisdom; and that vices are better checked by the calamities of war than by reason and philosophy."

Porcupine.—Well, Doctor, if the people are of your way of thinking, they are, doubtless, very indifferent about the matter, and live in great *harmony* together.—Is this the case?

Doctor Priestley.—(Letter xii. p. 40).—"A stranger is apt to wonder, *that political animosity should have got to such a height in this country*, where all men so lately united against a common enemy; and, that their enmity, which cannot be of long standing, should be *as inveterate as in the oldest countries*, where parties have subsisted time immemorial. But it may be the design of Providence, by this means, to *divide this widely extended country into smaller states*, which shall be at war with each other; that,

that, by their common ſufferings, their common vices may be corrected, and thus lay a foundation for the ſolid acquiſition of wiſdom.—Divided, as the people of this country are, ſome in favour of France, and others of England, I ſhould not much wonder, if the deciſion of the Government in favour of either of them, ſhould be the cauſe of *a civil war.* But even this, the moſt calamitous of all events, would promote a greater agitation of men's minds, and be a more effectual check to vice than any other mode of diſcipline.—Many lives, no doubt, will be loſt in a civil war; but *men muſt die*; and, if the *deſtruction of one generation* ——

Several Jurymen.—What!—What does he ſay?

Doctor Priestley.—"And if the *deſtruction of one generation* be the means of producing another, which ſhall be wiſer and better, *the good will exceed the evil.*"

Porcupine.—While I admire your *ſang froid*, Doctor, I utterly reject the maxims of your ſavage philoſophy, which would calmly proceed to the deſtruction of a whole generation in purſuit of a ſpeculative good. But quitting, for the preſent, thoſe political animoſities, which have ariſen under your favourite Government, and which you deſcribe as incurable by any thing ſhort of a civil war; let me aſk you if you have not found a greater degree of underſtanding, of virtue, and of piety, in America, than you left behind you in Great Britain? The *republican Government* and *written Conſtitution* muſt be bad, indeed, if they have produced no good effects, either political, moral, or religious.

Doctor Priestley.—(Letter xii. p. 41 and 42) —"A ſtranger naturally expects to find a greater *ſimplicity of manners*, and more *virtue*, in this new country, than in the old ones. But a nearer acquaintance with it will convince him, that there is *leſs virtue*, as well as *leſs knowledge*, than in *moſt* of the

the countries of Europe. In many parts of the United States there is alſo *leſs religion.* Infidelity has made great progreſs in Europe: but I much queſtion whether it be not *as great in America*; and, *either through want of knowledge, or zeal, little or nothing is done, by the friends of Revelation, to ſtop the baneful torrent.*"

PORCUPINE.—I think, Gentlemen of the Jury, that Mr. Erſkine, "*l'avocat de la Republique,*" will find it very difficult to parry this thruſt; but I cannot diſmiſs the evidence of the good Doctor without troubling you with a remark or two of the concluding part of it. He tells you, that *infidelity* has made as great progreſs in America as it has in Europe, where it has certainly been much longer at work. He adds, that "little or nothing is done, by the friends of Revelation, to ſtop the baneful torrent;" and this he aſcribes to *want of knowledge*, or *want of zeal*, in thoſe friends of Revelation: but, here he ſtops, without telling you the *cauſe* of this want of knowledge, or of zeal, in thoſe friends of the faith. Yet, you cannot imagine, that this cauſe, however ſecret, has eſcaped his active and penetrating mind. The fact is, I believe, he perceived it clearly enough, but could not prevail upon himſelf to ſtate it; he perceived it to lie in the want of an *eſtabliſhed church*, againſt which he had been, for many years, talking and writing; and which, in his clerical capacity, he ſeems to have regarded as his devil. To make an open acknowledgment of the neceſſity of ſuch an eſtabliſhment, would, perhaps, be too much to expect from any man, under ſimilar circumſtances. But, in this reluctance, ſo natural in the Doctor, *you*, my countrymen, can have no participation: *you* have never declared, that, "the *total annihilation of the hierarchy* "is the *only means of preſerving Chriſtianity:*" you wiſh to think rightly on this, as on every other, topic;

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topic; and, therefore, I truſt, that the confeſſion which I have drawn from the Doctor will tend to increaſe your reverence for that antient and ſacred eſtabliſhment, which has hitherto preſerved, and which is the only means of perpetuating, amongſt you, thoſe principles of morality and religion, which you received from your forefathers; and, without which, you would ſoon be reduced to a level with the miſerable infidels of France.

No. II.

GENTLEMEN OF THE JURY,

I now call your attention to a witneſs, who will give you more authentic information, reſpecting *Republican Governments and Written Conſtitutions*, than you ever have yet learnt, or ever will learn, through any other channel.

You muſt know, that each of the ſeveral States, which compoſe the American Union, has its ſeparate Conſtitution, and, of courſe, its ſeparate executive, legiſlative, and judicial powers. Theſe State Conſtitutions all bear a ſtrong reſemblance to each other, and to the Conſtitution of the United States. They all contain the ſame, or ſimilar proviſions and are all, in a greater or leſs degree, productive of ſimilar conſequences. But, the Government of the State of NEW JERSEY is, as far as I recollect, the only one, the evils and abuſes of which have been fully expoſed by the hand of an *American*.

This was done in New Jerſey, in 1799, by MR. WILLIAM GRIFFITHS, who was then, and now is, an eminent lawyer of that State, and who, under the ſignature of EUMENES, wrote a ſeries of eſſays, which

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were first published in the newspapers, and afterwards in a pamphlet, the object of which essays was, to convince his countrymen of the necessity of calling a convention, in order to form a new Constitution. It is this gentleman whom I am now about to examine; and, that MR. ERSKINE may have a fair opportunity of cross-examination, I shall be very careful to refer to every page, from which I think it necessary to extract.

PORCUPINE.—Mr. Griffiths, you have said, that the Constitution of your Republican State ought to be changed. You have certainly said well; but, pray inform the people of England, *why* it ought to be changed. Give them some account of the many and great evils and abuses, which have arisen out of your present Government; and, to begin at the root of the mischief, let them hear what you have to say about *elections*; for, there are a certain set of men in England and Ireland, who are mad after what they call the "elective *franchise*," regarding it as an infallible cure for all sorts of political diseases.

MR. GRIFFITHS.—(p. 33).—"It has ever been a matter of dispute upon the Constitution, whether *females*, as well as males, are entitled to elect officers of Government. If we were to be guided by the *letter* of the charter, it would seem to place them on the same footing in this particular; and yet, recurring to *political right* and the nature of things, a very forcible construction has been raised against the admission of *women*, to participate in the public suffrage.

"The fourth article of the Constitution declares, that "*All inhabitants* of this colony of full age, who "are worth, &c. shall be entitled to vote for repre-"sentatives, &c." Those who support the rights of women, say, that "*all* inhabitants," must mean *all women* inhabiting, as well as *all men*; whereas it

it is urged on the other ſide, that the makers muſt have *meant* all *male* inhabitants, and that the expreſſion is to be reſtrained, ſo as to arrive at the *intent* of the framers of the inſtrument.

"This difference of ſentiment has given riſe to diverſity of *practice* on this head, and furniſhed a pretence, from which, many an electioneering trick has reſulted. I could refer to inſtances, which would prove what is advanced; but the people want no proofs. It is well known, that women are admitted or rejected, juſt as it may ſuit the views of the perſons in direction. The thing ſhould be rectified. If women are fit perſons to take part in this important franchiſe, though excluded from other public functions, it ſhould be ſo expreſſed in the conſtitution. They would then know their rights, and thoſe rights could not be ſported with, to ſerve the wretched purpoſes of a party election.

"To my mind (without going into an hiſtorical or philoſophical deduction of particulars on the ſubject) it is evident, that women, generally, are neither by nature, nor habit, nor education, nor by their neceſſary condition in ſociety, fitted to perform this duty with credit to themſelves or advantage to the public. A great *practical* miſchief, however, reſulting from their admiſſion, under our preſent form of government, is, that the *towns* and populous villages gain an unfair advantage over the *country*, by the greater facility they enjoy over the latter, in drawing out their women to the election.

"Many important election conteſts have been terminated, at laſt, by theſe auxiliaries, in favor of candidates, ſupported by the town intereſt.—" Mr. Fox, in his late harangue in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, in favor of more *equal* ſuffrage, concedes the unfitneſs of *females* to ſhare in elections. He ſays, "no inſtance of their participation in public ſuffrage in any government, can be ſhewn;" and

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thus, this right (which many of his party hold to be a *natural* one) he denies to the faireſt productions of nature."

PORCUPINE.—Thus, you ſee, Gentlemen, that the harangues of your great "*patriot*" have reached acroſs the Atlantic, and have met with contempt, where he, good, credulous ſoul, ſuppoſed they would have been received with burſts of applauſe. You may alſo perceive, that *Mr. Fox* was not perfectly acquainted with *all the governments in the world.* If a "reform," founded upon "the *natural* rights of mankind," were to take place in England;" if the "elective *franchiſe*" were extended to "the faireſt productions of nature," what an alteration would enſue in the *qualifications* neceſſary in a candidate! If the *Spinſters* and the *Widows* were to vote at elections, what an aſſemblage of youth and of beauty, of brawn of braſs, would the Chapel of St. Stephen exhibit!—But, Sir, (*turning to the witneſs*), are the evils attending your elections owing entirely to the admiſſion of the fair ſex to the "*enjoyment*" of the *rights of man?* Or, are there other cauſes, which contribute to the rendering of this "*precious* right," the greateſt of all poſſible curſes?

MR. GRIFFITHS.—(p. 35).—"It is evident as the conſtitution is (and the practice under it, juſtifies the obſervation) that *our elections are liable to be influenced, and indeed governed, by perſons who have no intereſt in the welfare of the ſtate;* who have as little knowledge of the characters fit for office; and who, nine times out of ten, *are the mere inſtruments* of party *in* the ſtate, or the agents of executing deſigns, formed *out* of it. What a picture has our elections for ſix years paſt preſented, ſince an inundation of foreigners has broke in upon the country. French, Iriſh, Dutch, and people of almoſt every nation, and of every deſcription of character, have not only been admitted, but ſolicited to *help out contending ſides in elections*

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elections for officers of government. In towns, particularly where such people collect, the evil is more glaring, and the improper advantage it affords over the county interest, in elections, has often been complained of with the greatest reason. In the county, where I reside, there are, I venture to affirm, two hundred Irishmen employed at different works, who are never taxed, *except at the whipping-post:* and yet these fellows are brought to the elections, and their votes, perhaps, placed in equal balance against those of as many respectable and wealthy citizens."

PORCUPINE.—But, Sir, you have a *qualification.* It is necessary that voters should possess property to a certain amount. How is this regulation rendered nugatory?

MR. GRIFFITHS.—(p. 43).—" It is required by the Constitution, that they shall be " *worth fifty pounds,* proclamation-money, clear estate." But, as the Constitution does not prescribe by what *evidence* it shall be ascertained, that the person who offers his vote is worth fifty pounds, clear estate, the legislature have provided, that the fact of property shall be made out on the *oath* of the voter. This has proved a fruitful source of *perjury,* and false swearing at elections, in the State of New Jersey. Hundreds of people have been prevailed on to swear themselves qualified in point of property, that were not so, and who knew they were not qualified. Others have been induced to it under the most preposterous notions of mental evasion. A man being asked, after taking an oath at an election, how he could justify it to his conscience, as he well knew that all the property he ever had was not worth £.50? answered, that he did it very rightly; for the *law* did not require him to swear he had clear *property* to the value of £.50, but that " *he* (the voter) was *worth* £.50;" and that he valued himself

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at a great deal more than that. The words of the oath run thus: "I verily believe that *I* am worth fifty pounds clear eſtate, &c." Others are known to ſupply the word "of," and ſo ſwear themſelves clear *of* eſtate, inſtead of *clear* eſtate. And many other weak and wicked evaſions are fabricated, to get over the teſt of property, preſcribed in the conſtitution."

PORCUPINE.—This is very pretty to be ſure, and gives no bad ſtandard whereby to judge of the morality and religion, as well as the politics, of Republican States. Give me now, if you pleaſe, ſome account of the *Repreſentation* of your State.

MR. GRIFFITHS.—(p. 52)—."Nothing can be clearer, than that it is fundamental in a repreſentative government, that the people ſhould be *equally* repreſented. The framers of the conſtitution were perfectly conſcious of this, and provided, "That a "majority of the council and aſſembly might at "any time, if they judged it equitable and proper, "*add* to, or *diminiſh* the number or proportion of the "aſſembly for any county." This was leaving that to *legiſlative* diſcretion, which is unqueſtionably a point of *conſtitutional* regulation. If the Legiſlature judge it expedient, the people may be equally repreſented; whereas it ought to have been declared, that an *equal* repreſentation is the baſis of the government, and proviſion made for carrying the principle into complete effect. But the proviſion as it now ſtands, is altogether inadequate to the purpoſe: could the Legiſlature be depended upon, for diſintereſtedneſs and impartiality in executing it, they can only *add* and *diminiſh*; that is, take from one county, and add to another. This may poſſibly bring the repreſentation to ſome degree of proportion; but it is evidently imperfect, as in doing it, no common ſtandard of perſons, or property can be aſſumed. But is it not apparent, that the Legiſlature

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ture may be drawn into the abuſe of this power; may it not be exerciſed under pretence of *more* equal repreſentation, to the injury of and disfranchiſement of the people? Parties and political conteſts, may turn this, which was intended as a privilege, into an inſtrument of oppreſſion. If, for inſtance, we could ſuppoſe that a number of leading and artful members of the Legiſlature were deſirous of annexing to a particular diviſion of the State, three or four additional members to enable them to ſucceed in ſome favourite object, as the choice of a ſenator, or governor, or the nomination of electors for the preſident, or ſome important law, as a militia or revenue bill; the perſons concerned in ſuch a ſcheme, by preparing it in time, and proceeding with caution, and uſing all thoſe means of perſuaſion, ſeduction, and impoſition, *which are too well underſtood and too ſucceſsfully practiſed in theſe days*, might, perhaps, be able to effect their purpoſe: at leaſt the practicability of the thing and the inceſſant efforts of party, whether originating in local or political cauſes, muſt ever render the Legiſlature, an improper depoſitory of a franchiſe, upon the fair extenſion of which to all people, according to ſome equal ratio, depends the public tranquillity, and the equilibrium of the public rights.

"True it is, that hitherto the people of New Jerſey have not been repreſented in the Legiſlature, according to their *conſtituent* capacity, but according to certain *geographical* deſcriptions: the *counties* have been repreſented by *equal* delegations, without regard to the comparative ſtate of population and property. This is a groſs violation of the firſt maxim of a Republican Repreſentative Government, which dictates equality in the choice of thoſe who are to make laws, and adminiſter the public functions. It is a palpable wrong, that one thouſand electors, ſhould have the ſame number of repreſentatives that two thouſand have; it is giving them two votes for

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one in the general economy, and actually disfranchising one half of the greater portion. The *people* of New Jersey, and not the *counties*, were designed to be represented in the Legislature. Surely, if a law were proposed, and the sense of the *people* actually taken in *person*, and not by delegation, it would be thought monstrous, that two hundred votes from Huntingdon (for instance) should be balanced by one hundred from Burlington; and if this would be wrong, where the people act in person, it is equally so where they act by *delegation*, which is nothing else than transferring their identical constituent powers, rights, and interests, to the management of substitutes; and these, of course, ought to possess the same *equality* of suffrage, as would take place between their *constituents*. In short, on any other principle, the *majority* do not govern. It is very well known and admitted, that our public measures under the present constitution are *not the result of what can be called, the sense and wishes of the majority of the people of New Jersey:* the three counties of Suffex, Morris, and Essex, contained by the census of 1791, upwards of fifty thousand people; those of Bergen, Somerset, and Cape May, about twenty-five thousand; and yet, on every public measure in the Legislature, whether relating to the choice of public officers, either for State or Congress, or to the enacting of public laws, relating to taxation, or expenditure of the public money, or other objects of public concern, these twenty-five thousand persons may carry the measure by their representatives, against the sense, wishes, and interests of the fifty thousand, by their representatives: in other words, the *minority*, and a minority too, *in the proportion of twenty-five to fifty, prevails.*"

No. III.

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No. III.

PORCUPINE.—Well, Sir, you have ſhown us, that a WRITTEN CONSTITUTION is no ſecurity for impartiality at elections, or for fairneſs of repreſentation. It is, however, poſſible, that the perſons in power, may act ably and uprightly, notwithſtanding the manner, in which they may have been exalted, is not the beſt calculated to inſure the exertions of talents and integrity. Give us, if you pleaſe, ſome account of the office of the Governor, the Chief Executive Magiſtrate.

MR. GRIFFITHS.—(p. 55).—"The Governor is choſen, *annually*, by a joint-meeting of the two Houſes of the Legiſlature. This joint-meeting, or a bare *plurality* of votes in it, may appoint a child, a bankrupt, an alien, or a criminal convict, for the Governor and Chancellor of New Jerſey; nor does the *conſtitution* require the leaſt *teſt* from him when he is choſen, either of property, allegiance or duty: ſo ſtrange and dangerous is the latitude in an appointment, which unites in the officer the greateſt power, both civil, military and judicial! It is not a ſatisfactory anſwer to this, that the conſtitution has ſaid, the joint-meeting are to chooſe ſome "*fit*" perſon, for they are ſtill the ſole judges of his fitneſs; they *may* apprehend a man not the leſs fit, for being an alien, or a convict, or a fool, provided he puts on great pretenſions to patriotiſm, and has the art of hiding his weakneſs or his wickedneſs, under thoſe canting and hypocritical profeſſions for the "public good," which are too often ſucceſsful over the credulity of mankind. No elective body, thrown together on a ſudden, as that aſſembly is, acted on by intrigue, ſometimes by paſſion and party,

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party, and ſometimes by ignorance of character and facts, ſhould have it in their *power* to be ſurprized or cajoled, into a choice diſhonourable or hurtful to the ſtate; they ought to be *conſtitutionally* reſtrained from chuſing "*any*" body, to fill the higheſt ſtation in the goverment, and whoſe power is above all controul.

"In order to exhibit the number and great importance of the Governor's offices and appointments, let the conſtitution ſpeak. "The *Governor* "ſhall be conſtant preſident of the council, and "have a caſting vote in their proceedings."—"He "ſhall have *the ſupreme executive power*, be *Chancellor* "of the colony, *Captain-general* and *Commander in* "*Chief* of all the militia, and other military force "in this colony, and Ordinary or *Surrogate-general*." —"The *Governor* and Council ſhall be the *Court of* "*Appeals*, in the laſt reſort, in all caſes of law." Not to ſpeak here of the groſs incompatibility of theſe appointments in the ſame man, how is it to be conceived that any one head could digeſt, or the greateſt poſſible induſtry execute the various and complicated, and multiplied duties comprehended in this commiſſion of the Governor. If you ſeparate from the executive (what it is ſhocking, ſhould ever have been connected with it) the judicial concerns, will not the proper duties of the executive magiſtrate be abundantly ſufficient to occupy all his time and induſtry?

"A *ſeparation* of power, is conſidered as eſſential to the liberty, ſecurity, and happineſs of ſociety; and, indeed, what can be more ſelf-evident?" The very definition of a deſpotiſm is, "that govern- "ment where all power is veſted in one man, or "one body of men." Now, every government recedes from, or approaches to, this character, exactly in the ratio by which it diſtributes power. The effective powers of governing conſiſts in the *making* of

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of law, the *expounding* of law, and the *executing* of law; and the truth of the aſſertion of a direct incompatibility exiſting in the appointment of the New Jerſey executive, depends upon the *fact* of his holding offices, which unite in him portions of theſe diſtinct powers of government. Now of this there is no diſpute. The conſtitution makes him Commander in Chief of the *military*; it beſtows on him a portion of the *legiſlative*, as a member of the legiſlative council, by a caſting vote, and much more by the indirect influence which preſiding there in perſon, gives him over their proceedings; it places him at the head of the higheſt court of common law in the ſtate; it ſubjects to his ſingle and final determination as Chancellor, all the property in the ſtate, it recognizes him as the higheſt prerogative court, into which may be drawn by appeal, all caſes eccleſiaſtical, teſtamentary, and inteſtate; it clothes him with the attributes of mercy, in the right he exerciſes with the privy council, of pardoning criminals: he too becomes poſſeſſed, as the executive officer, of many incidental powers, ſuch as appointing deputies under him as Surrogate-general, ſupplying vacancies of offices in the receſs of the legiſlature, and a multitude of other authorities, delegated to him by particular acts of the legiſlature. In ſhort, you behold him brandiſhing the ſword of war; then preſiding in the ſeats of civil juſtice; now directing a court-martial, and then pronouncing a decree in equity; to-day you ſee him gravely legiſlating in the council, and to-morrow he is expounding and putting in execution the law which he made. "Never before, perhaps was it ſeen in any ſtate which bore the ſemblance of freedom, that ſuch great and different juriſdictions were veſted in one man."

"But (p. 70.) great as many of their other evils, ariſing from this unnatural aſſociation of powers in

in the ſame perſon, the greateſt of them all is, that which the ſtate experiences from the Governor in his *judicial* capacity. SHAKESPEARE has numbered the "law's delay" amongſt thoſe unbearable calamities, which drive mankind to ſelf-deſtruction. The endleſs delay in the Chancery Court of New Jerſey has obtained it the name of "the "Court of Oblivion, the Grave of Juſtice, and the "Mother of Ruin to all its votaries."

"But, beſides the delay and injuſtice that may ariſe from want of ſufficient time to perform the judicial concerns attached to the executive appointment, another moſt evident abſurdity preſents itſelf from the ſtructure of our conſtitution in this reſpect, namely, the *annual* appointment of a Chancellor and Prerogative Judge. I ſpeak not now of that circumſtance as objectionable, merely as it reſpects the queſtion of the duration of the ſupreme executive appointment, ſtrictly ſo called, (although there can be little doubt, that more permanency than the conſtitution allows of, would be preferable) but I allude to that injudicious arrangement, which makes the commiſſion of the higheſt *judicial* officer in the ſtate, leſs permanent than that of the loweſt civil magiſtrate. If we advert to the *principle* upon which other judges of law under the conſtitution hold their appointments for five and ſeven years, certainly it will appear that the conſtitution is extremely defective, and even inconſiſtent in this particular. A court of law ſhould, of all other inſtitutions, be ſo conſtructed, as moſt effectually to enſure ſpeedy and uniform juſtice. It is therefore abſolutely eſſential to this end, that judges (under proper checks of office) ſhould hold their appointments upon ſome more permanent footing than a mere executive officer. If a judge is removed *annually*, it impedes the courſe of legal proceedings; it requires a conſiderable length of time before his ſucceſſor can gain the point, even in the old

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old buſineſs at which his predeceſſor had arrived; he muſt go over the ſame ground, and yet find himſelf preſſed with the daily acceſſion of new caſes. Thus if a Chancellor is ſuperceded annually, all the caſes which have been argued, and no decree made, muſt be argued over again at a great expence. The new Chancellor finds himſelf all of a ſudden immerſed in an ocean of litigation, almoſt without bottom or ſhore; he goes to work with little exertion, becauſe he feels the ſlaviſhneſs of completing other mens' duties, and becauſe he has no proſpect, in the ſhort compaſs of one year, of getting through his own.

"Thus it is by ſhifting hands, the diſpatch of buſineſs is moſt eſſentially obſtructed: But a no leſs obvious, and a much more important injury to public juſtice, reſults from a rapid ſucceſſion in the judiciary, namely, its tendency to deſtroy the *uniformity*, and the authority of legal deciſions. An able Chancellor in a courſe of years, in purſuing his duties, not only anſwers the end of his appointment, in adminiſtering juſtice in the *particular* caſes that come before him, but he advances the general *ſyſtem* of law; he forms a conſiſtent courſe of precedents, which ſo far ſettles litigation, and prevents further diſputes, on points and principles that are at reſt: and this is the great political end of a national judiciary; that while it is employed in deciding particular caſes, for which it is paid, it is alſo engaged in framing a code of law and practice, which ſhall repay the ſtate an hundred fold, in the general influence it has in ſetting up land-marks of property, and thereby preventing infinity of litigation. Now all the good effects of a permanent judicature, are totally fruſtrated upon the plan of annual appointment. Ages may roll away, and the Chancery law of New Jerſey be yet in its infancy. It will acquire neither

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conſiſtence nor publicity. No general good will flow from its adminiſtration, but each particular caſe will periſh in ſingle obſcurity; and the ſame queſtion which was agitated and decided before a Chancellor of 1797, at an incredible expence, will riſe into diſcuſſion before the Chancellor of 1798, and be controverted with as much zeal, and at as immenſe coſt, as if it had not been before decided.

" Thus an eternal round of particular juriſprudence takes place, without authority as precedents, and frequently claſhing with each other. This is really a very important conſideration; it applies as well to the general ſtate of the judiciary under the conſtitution, as to the particular branch now under conſideration. Let any tribunal of law be ſo conſtructed, as that its members are frequently changed, and law becomes dilatory, inconſiſtent and dangerous: you have deciſions, but no precedents; you have judges, but no judicial ſyſtem; you have vindictive, but no preventive juſtice. I am certain, that nothing could have been deviſed more fatal to any good effects from a court of chancery, than to place it on a footing leſs permanent than that of a juſtice of the peace. That a conſtable or ſheriff ſhould be choſen annually, is not irrational, becauſe their duties are purely miniſterial: there is no length of experience, or ſyſtem, or judgment neceſſary; they are only to obey their orders. But to ſee the higheſt court of law and equity in the ſtate, *annually* ſet up at a kind of legiſlative auction, affords a ſpectacle no leſs ludicrous than it is lamentable.

" Independent of the conſiderations which have been mentioned, there are others which cannot eſcape the notice of the moſt ſuperficial obſerver, which place the conſtitutional arrangement of the court of chancery in the moſt ſhocking point of view. I here allude to its utter *dependency* upon another branch of the government, and its liability

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to be acted upon by perſonal and party motives and influence. It cannot be denied, that the great object in the conſtitution of a court of juſtice, eſpecially one from which there is no appeal, is to give it perfect *independency* in its proper ſphere of action. It is eſſential that there ſhould be courts entruſted with the execution of the laws, and the right of deciding upon controverſies between man and man; but unleſs theſe courts are ſo guarded from the temptations of ſelf-intereſt, as to be perfectly *indifferent* between man and man, in all caſes whatſoever, they are not courts of juſtice, but inſtruments of party, engines of partiality, and oppreſſion under the colour of law, the worſt of all oppreſſion, becauſe it is remedileſs. It is vain you urge the dignity of human nature againſt the ſolicitations of ſelf-intereſt, the frowns of power, and the importunity of party zeal. If your Chancellor is not rendered invulnerable by the independence, the *conſtitutional* independence of his ſtation, the rights and porperties of every citizen of New-Jerſey, now and in time to come, are inſecure indeed; and the evil is proportioned to the extent of the powers of that officer, which have no bounds but thoſe preſcribed by his ſingle and unalterable will.

" Think, then, upon how dangerous a baſis the conſtitution has built this all important judiciary.

" The tenure upon which it is held, is that of an *annual* election, by a *plurality* of the members of the legiſlature in joint meeting; and the *ſalary*, that ought to be the ſure reward of faithful and impartial juſtice, is capable of being perverted to the purpoſe of ſtarving, or tempting your Chancellor into a compliance with the views of a legiſlature, a party, a ſingle man! how little do people conſider the ſad conſequences which follow, from placing their judges under ſuch circumſtances, as that the very proviſions deſigned for their honorable

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able ſupport, and to guard their integrity, become the ſources of diſquietude and ſuſpicion, and the certain means of perverting the juſtice, and ſapping the rectitude of their public tribunals.

" If you put the caſe, that a *juſtice* of the peace ſhould have abſolute cognizance of all caſes within a certain diſtrict, but you place his appointment in the hands of *twelve* men of that diſtrict annually, and who have not only liberty to put him out, if his judgments diſpleaſe them, but to alter his compenſation at pleaſure; allow me to aſk, whether a magiſtrate ſo appointed and maintained is an independent judge, and is free to decide impartially, according to law, between man and man? is it not evident, that he will be controuled by his electors, by his gratitude?

" Theſe twelve men, perhaps a bare majority of them, who elected him, will alſo direct him; nay, *one* of them perhaps may be the keeper of his conſcience; one more powerful, more intriguing, more to be depended on at the next election of the diſtrict magiſtrate, muſt be conſulted before a judgment is given: and thus the juſtice of the diſtrict, is no more nor leſs than the will of the ſtrongeſt *party*, or the moſt influential elector of the joint meeting.

" Thus it happens, that this magiſtrate, from the very manner of his choice, the ſhortneſs of his office, and the variableneſs of his ſalary, becomes enliſted, by fear or affection, to thoſe, and the connection of thoſe, upon whom he imagines his appointment and his bread depends; and he who ſhould be, of all men in the diſtrict, the freeſt from party influence, and perſonal attachments, becomes the ſlave of one ſet of men who ſupport him, and the enemy of others, whoſe opinions or views are not in uniſon with thoſe of the magiſtrate or his ſupporters. I need no illuſtration of this argument, ſtronger than to call the attention of my fellow-citi-

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zens to those inferior tribunals of the country, with which they are best acquainted. Take the instances of justices of the peace, who are looking after promotion in the legislature, or advancement to the bench, as judges of the common pleas; who have private views to accomplish, a party to gratify, or friends they would not disoblige; and then let them ask this solemn question, 'ought the High 'Chancellor of New-Jersey to be so appointed, 'and so upheld in his appointment, as to render 'him the most dependent, and time-serving of all 'the confidential agents of the community?'

"It is a matter of immense importance to all classes and denominations of men in society, that the judicial departments should be free from all sinister influence in their decisions; judges should not only be pure, but they ought not to be suspected of acting under any other incitements, than those of honorable independence and impartiality. It is this supposed integrity and firmness of the judiciary, which gives life to the law, and which, while it guards the more wealthy and influential in their just acquisitions of property, at the same time protects the weak and injured against the oppressions and exactions of the strong and powerful. It is the *independence* of the judiciary which, in my opinion, and that of all writers who treat on jurisprudence, forms the most perfect safeguard of political and civil liberty; which gives to every man his proper consequence in society, and equally guards from wrong, the poor man's cottage, and the rich man's costly edifice. But, alas! how little has this obvious truth been attended to in the formation of the Court now under consideration. It would seem as if it was intended to form a tribunal, which should be solely under the controul and direction of party, and that should speak no language which did not accord with the sentiments of the powerful. I would ask, Where is

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the independence of a Chancellor, who muſt, in order to maintain his office, deſcend to the accuſtomed method of canvaſſing for intereſt at the annual elections? with how many perſons muſt he form and maintain political connections, in order to ſecure his reappointment? and have not theſe a right to look, in return, for particular favor from the ſucceſsful Judge? Thus it is, that not only a favored connection of friends and ſupporters is formed through the State, but the members of the Legiſlature will be entitled to the higheſt notice, and command the moſt diſtinguiſhed reſpect, for their deciſive countenance and ſupport. Here then you ſee the Conſtitution has thrown into the very formation of this Court, thoſe ingredients which, by a neceſſary tendency, will ſap its integrity, and lead to a ſyſtem of partiality. If you could ſuppoſe (and the ſuppoſition is not to be thought *ideal*) an obſcure and honeſt, but uninfluential man, engaged in a Chancery ſuit with an influential character in the Legiſlature, or with ſome friend of his, or one whom he choſe to ſupport, let me aſk, whether the dependence of our Chancellor would not be thought unfavorable to the leſs powerful ſuitor? The one can, to be ſure, appeal to his juſtice; the other will appeal to his feelings; his commiſſion is at ſtake, his ſalary, his honeſt diſtinctions, his family, all may be loſt by offending this popular man, or his friends and connections: and allow me to ſay, with ſo many powerful ſtimulents on the ſide of the great man, they might have a very benign influence on his caſe. But illuſtrations, in ſuch a caſe, weakens the propoſition, becauſe it is palpable that a Court of Chancery, founded on the baſis of an annual election, by fifty-two individuals, with a compenſation liable to be leſſened or raiſed every year, is but the creature of power, a mere organ of the rich of the country, not calculated to diſtribute equal juſtice, but liable to be

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flattered or frowned into meaſures, juſt as they coincide with the views of the particular people, who have the confidence, and whoſe ſupport is neceſſary to the attainment of the office. In free popular governments, if the judiciary is not, by its conſtitution, removed from the action of popularity upon its ſentences, there may be the form of freedom to be ſure, but there is no real liberty or juſtice. Do we not daily ſee the pernicious effects which ariſe to the country, and to individuals, from the connection that exiſts in all our tribunals, between the office and the perſonal popularity of the judge? Hence nothing is more common, than to ſee different *parties* exerting their influence over the hopes and the fears of the Court. *Hardly a cauſe is tried but you hear it enquired, how the Judges are marſhalled as to politics? which of the parties has moſt popularity? and very frequently cauſes are decided, not by the ſtandard of law, but by the ſtrength of out-door influence, and private ſolicitation; even the popularity of a lawyer is ſometimes conſulted, as favoring the views of a party upon the Court.*"

No. IV.

GENTLEMEN OF THE JURY,

YOU have heard a tolerably good account of the *repreſentation*, and of the *executive power* of a republican ſtate; but there is one branch of government, in which every man of ſenſe feels himſelf more deeply intereſted than in all the others: I mean the *judiciary*. Political Liberty is, at beſt, a very doubtful good; but, civil liberty, that is to ſay, *juſtice*, ſecurity for his property and his perſon, every honeſt man looks upon as the moſt valuable of all earthly bleſſings. The liberty of voting, bawling, and even of getting

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drunk, at an election, is but a poor compenſation to the ſovereign citizen for the loſs of that property, of which, by the help of a corrupt or ignorant court, his rich neighbour may have, but the day before, deprived him. The fact is, that, when Engliſhmen talk about *liberty*, they generally mean *that ſecurity from oppreſſion, which they are ſure to find in the courts of Juſtice.*

This is perfectly conformable to the dictates of good ſenſe; for of what avail is it, that the people chooſe their "repreſentatives," as the members of legiſlative aſſemblies are ſometimes jocularly called; of what avail is it, that no man in America can be either a king or a lord; of what avail are theſe or any other political regulations, if the perſon and property of every man be not perfectly ſecure from violence and injuſtice?

Of what avail is it, that the people of New-Jerſey have had the prudence to retain the poſſeſſion of that moſt precious birth-right, the Common Law of England, that equitable and beautiful code, which is no leſs congenial to the rights of property, than it is favourable to the juſt liberties of man?—of what avail is it, that every advantage and every privilege, which men in ſociety could deſire, is ſecured to them in the volumes of laws which ſurround their legiſlators and courts of Juſtice?—what avail all theſe laws, theſe inſtitutions, and theſe privileges, if they are not underſtood, or enforced? The legiſlature *enacts* the law, and diſſolves; the lawyer and civilian, compoſe and exhibit in regular order, the varied, but conſiſtent and rational ſyſtems of juriſprudence, which pervade and regulate every poſſible contingency in the multiplied affairs of human ſociety; the acts of the legiſlature, and the labours of the learned are a dead letter; they are worſe, they become the fruitful ſources of oppreſſion, of error, of chicanery, of expence, and of ſcandal; unleſs the

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honeſt, prompt, and able expoſition and execution of them, are ſecured by the *judicary* of the country.

In nothing do the people of America more fatally deceive themſelves, than in the ſlight regard which they beſtow on the conduct of their judiciary, and the effects flowing therefrom. They will contend to the laſt farthing of their property, and the laſt drop of their blood, for the moſt paltry *political* privilege; yet, while they are purſuing with ſuch eagerneſs, this diſtant and doubtful good, they ſeem to ſet little or no value on the ſure and ſolid bleſſing, which they loſe for want of a wiſe and upright judiciary. They look upon the evil at a diſtance, and perſuade themſelves it will not approach; they ſee their neighbours harraſſed with endleſs litigation, they hear of the ignorance and partiality of judges and juſtices, of the enormous expence and the uncertainty of the law, the inſecurity of property, and the frauds and delays of the executive officers; yet they ſleep on in ſecurity, whilſt the noble edifice of the laws, the great land-mark of property, the bulwark of perſonal liberty, and the genuine principles of civil juriſprudence, are crumbling into ruins, and ſinking under the deadly influence of ignorance, preſumption, and corruption.

Beſides integrity and good intentions, and the ordinary qualifications to be found in moſt reputable people, there are *three* characteriſtics eſſential in the compoſition of a perfect judiciary ſyſtem; to wit: INDEPENDENCE, ABILITY, and OFFICIAL INDUSTRY. Theſe are all to be found, in the higheſt degree of perfection, in the judiciary of England. In what degree they exiſt in that of the commonwealth of New-Jerſey, we ſhall now learn from Mr. Griffiths.

MR. GRIFFITHS.—(p. 84).—" The *Chancellor* of the State, whoſe uncontrouled pleaſure decides upon the fortune and intereſt of every citizen, is dependent

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dent for his commiſſion on the ſuffrages of *fifty-two* influential men, at an *annual* election.

" An eaſy calculation will evince to what an extent this mode of appointment, conveys the ſeeds of an improper connection of the Chancellor, with the members of the legiſlature. A Chancellor four or five times re-elected, becomes bound by *perſonal* obligations, to a vaſt number of perſons through the ſtate, and of conſequence to all thoſe they *patronize:* ſuch has been, and ever will be the evils of *joint-meeting* appointments.

" This tenure of his office, if he determines or is deſirous of holding it, which is always to be ſuppoſed, neceſſarily produces a ſituation very unfriendly to that diſintereſtedneſs, and detachment from bias in his judicial duties, which is ſo eſſential to confidence, and neceſſary to the impartial execution of the law: for in the *firſt* place, it is evident he will be conſtantly forming political connections, and ſelecting from the buſy and the influential in every part of the ſtate, thoſe, whoſe exertions and good will, may be employed to favor his intereſt with the members of the enſuing legiſlature. Theſe again have their friends, who of courſe become linked in the chain. When the legiſlature is formed, a majority of thoſe influential characters are ſecured; and of courſe from being patrons, they are entitled to expect the patronage of the Chancellor, ſhould occaſion offer. Thus it is, that the greateſt *judicial officer* of the ſtate, who ſhould be free from every ſuſpicion of dependency or attachment to any ſet of men, from the nature of his appointment, is at once plunged into the vortex of intrigue, becomes in turn the dependent and the patron; now ſeeking favour, and again beſtowing it on his benefactors. Surely this is wrong: if it be proper to inveſt any one man with abſolute power over all property, it is eſſentilly neceſſary he ſhould be detached from all

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all influence, except that of virtue, of honor, and of wiſdom.

"The great danger and impropriety of ſuch a judiciary may be illuſtrated by a caſe exactly appoſite. Suppoſe a perſon to be *annually* choſen for the Chancellor of a *county* or leſs diſtrict, by *plurality* of votes, what would be the conſequence? Any perſon may tell: he would, inſtead of being the moſt *independent* and impartial character of the diſtrict, attached to no party or perſons, become the *umpire* between his *friends* and *opponents*; thoſe who were able and willing to ſupport his pretenſions to the office, and thoſe who preferred another: how this would operate between the different ſides contending before the Chancellor for their rights, I leave thoſe to decide who are beſt acquainted with mankind.

"If we take a view of the *ſupreme judicature* of common law under the conſtitution of New Jerſey, we ſhall find its *dependency*, equally, if not in a greater degree than the Chancery, affected by the circumſtances of its formation. The *Governor* and *Legiſlative-council* of New Jerſey form the higheſt court of common law in the ſtate; all other judicatures are ſubordinate: they may decide unalterably upon every individual caſe, and they fix the rule of law in all ſimilar caſes for ever. This court is made up of perſons whoſe ſeats depend upon *annual* elections of the people in the ſeveral counties. It is eaſy to perceive, in how many ways the independence of theſe judges may be affected by their dependence on certain influential people in their ſeveral counties: ſcarcely a cauſe of any conſiderable conſequence comes into council that does not contain, or is made to contain in it, ſome queſtion upon which popular opinion has ſpent its judgment, or expreſſed its wiſhes. Men who ſit there in ſome meaſure as the repreſentatives of the public

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public opinion, are apt to lose sight of their *judicial* characters, and to conform their sentiments rather to what they imagine will please their constituents, or some *portion* of them (who may really know nothing of the matter) than to the steady and impartial rules and principles of law. The judge who comes from the place where the dispute arises, will necessarily become, in some measure, interested by political or personal relations on one or the other side of the cause, and his influence and exertions may perhaps have a very undue weight in the decision. In proof of these positions, *I could adduce instances, of not only cases where considerable* election heats *have been excited, in a contest for persons who it was supposed would espouse opposite sides of a cause in the court of errors, and cases where men have been chosen for the express purpose of favouring a party in their cause:* but it is enough to shew, that the circumstances of their appointment *admit* and favour this unhappy bias upon minds, which should be free from every possible influence, that might warp the understanding, or seduce the integrity of the heart.

"The *other courts of law* differ in no essential respect from these in the *mode* of appointment; the term of office only varies, and of course the same bad effects will follow in a proportionate degree, from the dependence of the judges upon the caprice, or the influence, of *those persons upon whom their election and continuance in office more immediately depends.*

"But if the judges are rendered in some degree dependent, and liable to corruption from the circumstance of their *election*, in the *second* place, their servility is completed by the *precarious condition* of their *compensations*. It is really a degrading, as well as a pernicious feature in the constitution, that it has not provided for the *permanent* and honourable support

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ſupport of the *magiſtracy* of the country: that claſs of men, who above all others ſhould be as far as poſſible guarded from *pecuniary* dependence on any ſet of men, are abſolutely left at the mercy of every *annual* aſſembly, for the bread which is to ſupport them and their families, a condition below that of any free man in the community; for all other men have the privilege of at leaſt participating in the terms upon which they will render their ſervices. Of what importance is it to the country that the conſtitution extends the commiſſions of judges of the *ſupreme court* to ſeven years, when it leaves it in the power of the *legiſlature* to drive all, or any of them, from their ſeats at any time by a reduction of their ſalaries? The plain tendency of this entire proſtration of the Chancellor and the Judges at the feet of the legiſlative body, is to render them the ſubmiſſive inſtruments of power and influence, inſtead of being the independent and impartial protector of innocence and virtue. What Judge (who is not ſomething more than man) will venture to forfeit his bread by giving offence in the exerciſe of his commiſſion, to thoſe who may ſnatch it in a moment from him and his family? How can confidence be placed in the impartiality of the judge, when the ſuitor is told, if he offends your adverſary he will ſuffer for it; he will be oppoſed for it in the legiſlature; your antagoniſt has great influence there, and will turn him out, or force him to reſign, by reducing his income. I could wiſh theſe were only the ſpeculations of a theoriſt, the plauſible but unreal ſuggeſtions of fancy: concluſions ſo natural from the premiſes, want not the evidence of facts to force conviction. But *facts* exiſt, the judges *are* threatened, and their ſeats put in hazard by powerful men in the legiſlature, who affect diſpleaſure at their judicial conduct.

"The caſe of the Middleſex election, the Cumberland

berland wharf cauſe, and the cauſe of Cadwallader and Reading, are freſh in every body's remembrance. In theſe cauſes, or at leaſt in two of them, the Judges were indirectly menaced with the loſs of their ſeats; and the attempt actually made upon the Chief-juſtice. How can law maintain her equal ſcale, when thoſe who adminiſter it, act under ſuch a ſyſtem of terror as this?

"I have heard it ſaid, that this dependency of the Judges upon the members of the legiſlature, for their ſeats and ſupport, can at the utmoſt, only affect the determination of cauſes, in which the *ſtate*, or the *individual* members are concerned. I anſwer, that if the influence reached no further, it is an intolerable grievance. The *ſtate* is intereſted in every *criminal* proſecution, in all caſes of *internal* revenue, and in all caſes of *forfeiture*. Surely then, an *individual* who is the object of any of theſe proſecutions, ought to be tried by *Judges*, whoſe commiſſion and ſupport will not be ſubject to injury from a legal opinion, which may be unfavourable to the *public* treaſury. It is well known, what a warm and active part the legiſlature takes in *judicial* proceedings, where the rights or intereſts of the ſtate are any way involved. An individual, contending with the power and influence of the ſtate, lies under evident diſadvantages, independent of any bias of his judges; but if in addition to this, his very *triors*, hold their ſeats and living at the *will* of his adverſary, his caſe is truly hopeleſs. It is not long ſince, a member of the legiſlative-council was heard to ſay, that the Governor ſhould loſe his ſeat, if he did not demand from another ſtate, a ſuppoſed offender againſt the laws of this. For aught I know, this might have been a very *juſt* cauſe for removing him: but it ought to be remembered, that this ſame power, might be exerted with equal effect, to influence a judicial officer for an *unjuſt* purpoſe. It will eaſily

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eaſily be perceived then, that the courſe of juſtice may in a great variety of ways be interrupted and influenced, upon a ſuppoſition that the Judges were liable only to legiſlative controul. But it is conceded alſo, that the Judges of our courts, on the preſent ſyſtem, are placed within the reach, at leaſt, of all thoſe individuals, who compoſe the legiſlature; and let me aſk, whether even fifty-two individuals ought annually to be placed on better ground than other citizens, for controverting their rights in a courſe of judicature? It is perfectly clear upon principles of reaſon, upon the ſenſe and maxims of policy, and the leſſons of experience, that no man's political or public ſituation, ought to give him a controul over the ſeats of juſtice. A court of law, ſhould be in a capacity to act with perfect impartiality, and whenever its members are ſo appointed, as to act under the influence of fear or affection towards even one man in ſociety, the reſt ſuffer oppreſſion. But it muſt be remembered, that this undue controul is not confined to the mere *individuals* who compoſe the annual legiſlature; their *connections*, their *party*, their *friends*, all thoſe who are linked with them by ties of intereſt, of blood, affinity, or policy, ſhare in the advantages, which attach to the particular member of the legiſlature; and thus it is, that a wide and deſtructive ſyſtem of *judicial oppreſſion* is eſtabliſhed.

"It is obvious, that, as the Judges in the high court of Errors, the Chancellor, and the Juſtices of the Supreme Court, are dependent for their ſeats or ſalaries, or both, upon the *favour* of influential perſons in the legiſlature, and through the ſtate, there muſt conſtantly ſubſiſt a *patronage* on one hand, and *obligation* on the other, deſtructive of confidence and impartiality. The citizens at large will never ſtand on equal ground, until the judges of law are placed above private influence."

PORCUPINE.

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PORCUPINE.—I ſhould now compare the ſituation of this republican judiciary with that of the judiciary of England; but, I ſhall leave the contraſt to the energetic and elegant pen of Mr. Griffiths.

MR. GRIFFITHS, (p. 85.) "That country from whence we ſprung, whoſe language, and laws and liberties, we poſſeſs, and the principles of whoſe conſtitution are infuſed into our own with every poſſible advantage, freed from thoſe exterior diſtinctions and artificial accumulations of power, which are eſſential to the grandeur and the ſupport of a monarchy, but inconſiſtent with the ſimple ſtructure of a popular government: I ſay, that that monarchy, in the formation and ſupport of its *judiciary*, has provided with infinitely more caution, for the ſecurity of its ſubjects againſt the effects of *dependency* in the Judges, than our *independent* Conſtitution.

"The *Engliſh judiciary*, from its total independence, either on the *crown* or the *parliament*, exhibits the nobleſt features of dignity, impartiality and ability, that ever adorned any human inſtitution. The ſplendour of the monarch, the riches and power of the nobles, the influence and violence of the commons, can never warp the courſe of juſtice. In this lies the true *equality* of Britiſh ſubjects, that great and ſmall, all claſſes and conditions of men, are aſſured of having the *laws* IMPARTIALLY executed. Every man is *certain*, that *juſtice* will be done; any other equality is ſavage nature, the cheat-word of *modern reformers* and *ambitious knaves*."

PORCUPINE.—People of England, and you, Mr. Erſkine, in particular, I beſeech you to liſten to this candid and able writer! How much more wiſe, how much more juſt, is he than thoſe "modern reformers" and "ambitious knaves," whom he ſo heartily and ſo juſtly deſpiſes. Liſten to him, Mr. Erſkine: he ſpeaks from experience; he has lived under

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under a Britiſh and under an American Government; under a Monarchy, and under a Commonwealth: and, which is ſtill more favourable to the forming of a correct judgment by compariſon, he has ſeen the effects of both ſorts of Government on the ſame people, living in the ſame land, and engaged in the ſame purſuits. He has ſeen a Britiſh Monarchical Government revolutionized into a Republican Government; he has ſeen a Conſtitution, exiſting in the laws, cuſtoms, and uſages of England, exchanged for a Conſtitution written in a book; and, at the end of twenty-three years of experience, he calls upon his countrymen to return to the maxims and regulations of their forefathers.

While I quote this gentleman's work, as an incontrovertible proof of the ſuper-excellence of the Engliſh Government, in that branch which has more influence than all the others on the real liberty of the people, I cannot help admiring his candour and integrity. Conſidering the circumſtances under which he wrote, the publiſhing of ſuch ſentiments reflect great honor on his character, to the excellence of which the State of New Jerſey has long borne unanimous teſtimony.

No. V.

PORCUPINE.—So far as to the *independence* of this Republican Judiciary. Now, Sir, be ſo good as to deſcribe to the people of England the ABILITY of thoſe who compoſe it.

MR. GRIFFITHS (p. 98).—" The great and overruling court of law in New Jerſey, namely, the *Court of Errors and Appeals*, to which all others are ſubject, and which, therefore, may be conſidered as the *only* one that is entruſted with the *guardianſhip* of the laws

laws, and which, of consequence, ought to possess the highest possible attainment in the science of it, is composed of twelve persons, *annually* chosen by the people in common *county election*. Now it is evident, that a *choice* of Judges in this way, is liable to very great objections, and not likely to produce a Court equal to the weighty management and determination of the most important and difficult points of law.

" For, *first*. The *people at large* are by no means sufficiently informed, or capable of deciding upon the legal qualifications, which should recommend a candidate to fill a seat in the highest justiciary station. *Second:* If they were capable and desirous of it, yet it may not always be in their *power*; for perhaps a person may not happen to *reside* in the *county* who is adequate, and the electors are restricted in their choice, to the *county* in which they live. *Third:* As the same person who will be the *Judge*, is also designed to *legislate* for the county, it will often happen that the person who would be fittest for the latter service, might not be suitable for the other; and the people of course prefer a good *legislator*, and leave the *judge* at home. We know this to be a *fact*, and that is enough without examining the motives. *Fourth:* It is well known, that a great majority of those returned for the Legislative Council, being chiefly men of very confined studies, and engaged steadily in agricultural employments, are wholly incompetent to investigate and decide with any tolerable accuracy, upon the many different and very great law questions, which come before them on writs of error from the judgment of the Supreme Court. *Fifth:* And what must ever prevent this Court from acquiring either *experience* or stability, is its *annual* rotation: scarcely a single member of it will remain there for any length of time, nor think it worth his while to attempt the task of gaining

that

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that knowledge, which would fit him for a ſtation, which may not continue beyond two ſittings of the Court. From this view of the High Court of Errors, as it ſtands organized under the Conſtitution, what proſpect does it afford to the Citizens of New Jerſey for *ability* in diſcharging the duties of its appointment? I ſpeak not now of the *actual* conſequences, which flow out of its formation; that will occupy another paper; but let any reaſonable man, without any knowledge of facts, aſk himſelf this ſimple queſtion, "Is a judiciary ſo imperfectly "choſen, and ſo liable to conſtant changes, a fit "depoſitory of the judicial ſovereignty over any "people, whoſe liberties and rights depend upon "a ſound and uniform expoſition of the laws?" I am perſuaded no perſon of common candor will anſwer in the *affirmative:* I know that no men are more ſenſible of the inadequacy of that Court to its objects, than thoſe who generally compoſe it, and their acknowledgment of it, is as unreſerved as the fact is certain.

"If the *High Court of Errors and Appeals* is ſo conſtituted, as not to afford the neceſſary ſecurity to the people for a ſound and uniform expoſition of the laws, it is of little conſequence how the *inferior* tribunals may be appointed or filled; becauſe all they do may be undone by the Court of Errors, and no deciſion of theirs can ever become the law of the land, until it has received the ſanction of this ſuperior Court.

"The *Supreme Court* of Judicature, as it is (improperly) called, may be filled with Judges ever ſo experienced, and ever ſo learned in the law of the land, and may decide with the utmoſt impartiality and wiſdom, but it avails nothing; a *writ of error* brings all up before this *Court of the laſt reſort*, and there the matureſt legal deciſions of men, whoſe lives have been devoted, perhaps, to the ſtudy of the laws,

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laws, are to be reviſed by others, who know not the meaning of the very terms of the queſtion before them!

" Indeed there is ſomething ſo extremely prepoſterous, as well as pernicious in ſuch a ſyſtem, that one cannot ſurvey it, and not feel emotions of ſhame and regret. Judges are ſelected for their *experience*, and their *profound* acquiſitions in the ſcience and practice of the laws; they are ſupported at a conſiderable *public charge*; they inveſtigate cauſes at immenſe labor and expence, and they decide upon them with all the advantages of ſuperior information, patient inquiry, and impartial juſtice; their deciſions are reviſed and reverſed, by a tribunal ſuperior only in *authority*; every way inferior in *knowledge* of the laws, and in the ordinary means of acquiring it; a tribunal which in point of *legal* talents, can ſcarcely be rated beyond thoſe which may be found in almoſt any body of the ſame number of *reſpectable farmers*.

" The abſurdity of ſuch an arrangement is no leſs ſhocking to common ſenſe, than it is hurtful and deſtructive of the very *foundation* of all legal ſecurity for property and perſonal conduct. If *twelve* men choſen annually in conteſted county elections, and transferred immediately from the plough to the higheſt judicial ſtation in the State, are *adequate* to the duties of that office, and to the reviſion of all the inferior courts at the trifling expence which is incurred, either of time or money, ſitting in the Legiſlature, why, let me aſk, does the State employ *profeſſional* characters in the Supreme Judiciary Court? and why pay fifteen hundred pounds *per annum*, to four Judges of that Court, when any four reputable men taken from their farms, and paid at the rate of ſeventeen ſhillings and ſixpence per day during the terms, would not only be *as* adequate, but according to the *conſtitutional* idea of legal competency,

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petency, *more* so than the most accomplished professors of the law?

"It must be perfectly evident to all, that the *Constitution* has not secured the *means* of an *adequate competency of legal knowledge* in those who may be called into the judicial departments of Government; but will it still be said, that however inefficient and defective the *Constitution* is, yet the *end* has disappointed the means, and the Courts of Law are in fact ably and respectably filled? It would indeed be a rare *phænomenon*, to find weak and erroneous political establishments, producing effects beyond, and superior to their probable force and tendency; for experience teaches us, and so should reason, that the best constitutions and wisest modifications of law and government, will fall short of their *principles* in the execution; and this, from the imperfection and perversity, which is superinduced upon every human contrivance: nor has the truth of this remark, found an exception in the instance now under consideration. The natural and inevitable consequences have followed, namely, a judiciary incompetent to its objects: and here I must appeal to the *notoriety* of the facts; I rest the assertion upon the intelligence, the observation, upon the *grievances* of the citizens of New Jersey upon all their experience for twenty years past. Will any man come forward and say, the *Courts of Justice* in New Jersey have been *judiciously filled* and *ably executed?* I persuade myself, all will avow the contrary; but if one only should persist in the assertion, I would ask him, from whence proceed the incessant complaints, which every where assail our ears, of the *uncertainty* of law, of the *delays* of the law, of the *expence* of the law, of the *litigiousness* of the law? If the Courts of Justice were ably conducted, I ask whether uncertainty, delay, expence, and litigiousness, could arrive to any considerable height? they could not.

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It is in the ignorance, in the fears, and in the timid indulgencies of incompetent Judges, that we are to look for the cauſes of thoſe ruinous attendants upon judicial inveſtigations."

No. VI.

PORCUPINE.—The Law's *delay* is the next thing to be conſidered. This has always been looked upon as a moſt ſerious evil, in England; what it is in New Jerſey, we ſhall now learn. A comparative ſtatement of the delays in the two countries it would not, perhaps, be eaſy to draw; but, we ſhall find, that delay is not leſſened at any rate by a republican revolution.

MR. GRIFFITHS.—(p. 108.)—" Admitting all other objections to be removed, and ſuppoſing that our Courts are ſecured againſt the dangers of *influence*, and filled with *competent* talents; yet ſuch is the unfortunate caſt of the *judiciary* in its moſt eſſential departments, as to be rendered in a great degree incapable of *diſpatching* the cauſes and caſes which fall under its notice. Not here to ſpeak of the multiplied duties aſſigned to the *county courts* by the Conſtitution and acts of the Legiſlature, in beſtowing on them a civil, a criminal, an eccleſiaſtical and appellant juriſdiction, with a great variety of incidental authorities, which, together with a conſtant ſhifting of Judges and Juſtices, owing to their feeling no tie of intereſt or honor attached to the ſtation, has tended greatly to obſtruct the courſe of law; I ſay, to paſs by theſe, and look up to the *Chancery*, and the higheſt appellant juriſdiction in the State, the *Court of Errors*, it will appear, that they are not calculated to admit of *diſpatch* in cauſes. The *Court of Errors*, being a branch of the Legiſlature, can ſeldom examine

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amine with any conſiderable degree of attention into caſes of error and appeal, during the *ſitting* of the Legiſlative body; and at all other times of the year the members of the Court, purſuing their means of livelihood, can ſcarcely be prevailed upon to travel at expence and great diſtances, attended with conſiderable injury to their private affairs, in order to form *ſpecial* ſittings for the hearing of cauſes: and, if now and then a *quorum* is collected, ſuch is the eagerneſs to riſe, that frequently the mereſt pretexts are received for poſtponement; the cauſes are all thrown by. This is repeated, until the *number* of cauſes become no leſs formidable to this fluctuating judiciary, than their *difficulty*. What the conſequences are to the public, how diſgraceful to the juſtice of the country, how burthenſome and oppreſſive to *honeſt* ſuitors, how dextrous an engine of procraſtination in the hands of *diſhoneſt* ones, let the records of that Court bear witneſs. Such is the ordinary and neceſſary courſe of delay there, that it is becoming a *practice*, to remove into that court cauſes for no other purpoſe than to gain time. It is evident, that the evil muſt *grow* with every returning term, and that it threatens the very extinction of juſtice, as that court now holds juriſdiction by error and certiorari, of all cauſes whatſoever. It is evident too, that there is no cure for the diſtemper by any *legiſlative* proviſion; it is idle to depend upon the occaſional *exertion* of this court, to *wipe off* (as it is ſtiled) the cauſes depending there: without adequate pay, without permanence, without confidence, without dignity, without knowledge, it would be dreaming to imagine that the buſineſs of a judiciary can proceed; it is the *vice* of litigation to *procraſtinate*, it requires the utmoſt diligence, and *incentives* to diligence in a court, to counteract this propenſity. What then can be expected from one, which is ſo compoſed, as to have all its

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excitements *inverted?* Instead of favoring, they are constitutionally fitted to retard the progress of duty.

"In this court, which controuls, suspends, and annuls the acts of all others, from the supreme court down to that of a justice of the peace, we perceive then no *facility* afforded for persevering in its duties, but every obstacle opposed. If we turn our attention to the *court of chancery*, the scene is only shifted, it is not improved. I forbear to repeat what was observed in former papers, upon the contrariety and multiplicity of constitutional engagements imposed upon this *single* officer, which, together with the precarious tenure of his commission, furnish ample conviction of the melancholy truth, that the constitution of New-Jersey, not only tends to render the judges of law *dependent* and *ignorant*, but also *idle* and *useless*. Such is the outline of that system (if it deserves the name) which we call the judiciary of New-Jersey; one wide scene of influence, of weakness, of ruinous procrastination, and of endless confusion! These are the sources, let me inform those who are open to instruction, these are the fatal *causes* which depress confidence, which render rights insecure, which give to power and intrigue what is due to humanity and virtue, which feed the streams of eternal litigation, and yield to the professors of law, advantages which malice and weakness may ascribe to a dereliction of principle, but which necessarily result from the weakness and errors of the public institutions.

"The *legislature* seem to have spent much of their ingenuity in devising restrictions, which might operate upon the practical professors of the law. It is evident that those regulations have no reference to the *causes*, which produce the disorders in the judicial departments of the state; they neither make the *courts* of law more *impartial*, more *able*, or more *expeditious* than they were before; and until the *judges*

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become ſo *independent* as not to fear lawyers, ſo *intelligent* as not to be miſled by them, and ſo *diſpoſed to facilitate* juſtice, as to repel their procraſtinations, it avails nothing how the *fee bill* ſtands, nor how you regulate the *perſonal* conduct of the bar; the ſame *reſults* will be produced by different means; and as far as experiment had been made, no good, but rather injurious effects have flowed from even theſe trifling reforms. The true way to leſſen the importance and the profits of the *bar* (if thoſe are objects of jealouſy, or ſubjects of reform) is to *renovate* the judiciary; by which means the people will depend upon the *courts*, and not upon *lawyers* for the adjuſtment of their rights; nor will it be *neceſſary* to advance enormous fees to enſure extraordinary *profeſſional* aſſiſtance, when *confidence* is placed in the *judges*. The greateſt pecuniary hardſhip to ſuitors is, that let their relative means of property be ever ſo diſproportionate, or the juſtice of their claims ever ſo clearly diſcriminated, they are impelled from *defect of confidence* in the *judges*, to ſeek aſſiſtance at the very ſame expence which is incurred by a rich, litigious, and unjuſt adverſary. Here then, if our legiſlators would *really* do an act of beneficence to the oppreſſed and wronged part of the community, let them *propoſe* the means of effecting a change in the *courts of law*; let *judges* be ſo appointed and ſo maintained, that it may not be *neceſſary* for the injured citizen to pay ſuch extravagant fees for *teaching* them *how* to do him juſtice. If it is really ſuppoſed that his profeſſion is growing too faſt, the cauſe is evidently found in the *uncertainty* of the laws, and that again from the *incompetency* of the judiciary. The only *effectual* remedy will be to reform the latter evil, which will in a great degree remove the former.

" Whilſt our courts are ſo filled, that the *judges* are ignorant of the forms and principles of law, it muſt be

be expected that nothing but error, confuſion, delay, and ruinous expence, will mark their proceedings: men are frequently haraſſed with *actions* which never had been brought, did not the plaintiffs depend on the adroitneſs of their lawyer, and the *ignorance* of the judges; and frequently are *defences* ſet up and perſevered in, which the parties would never have preſumed to rely on, were they not encouraged in their hopes of ſucceſs, from the chance of puzzling and miſleading the courts. Thus it is, that between actions brought, and actions defended on falſe or fallacious grounds, originating in the actual or ſuppoſed ignorance of the judges, the dockets are ſwelled, and the country tormented with ſuits and contentions, which under an energetic judiciary would have been totally *ſuppreſſed.*"

No. VII.

PEOPLE OF ENGLAND,

I now come to a part of the evidence, which merits your moſt ſerious attention. The witneſs is about to exhibit to you a true picture of *a legiſlative aſſembly choſen annually by the people.* Our famous countryman, SWIFT, has compared the people, who chooſe ſuch aſſemblies, to thoſe ſilly worms, which exhauſt their ſubſtance, and deſtroy their lives, in making habits for beings of a ſuperior order. With all due deference to ſuch an authority, I beg leave to ſay, that the latter part of the compariſon will not bear the teſt of experience. That the people, in the exerciſe of their imaginary rights and privileges, do exhauſt their ſubſtance, and, ſometimes, deſtroy their lives, is moſt certain; but, that they do this for the ſake of *beings of a ſuperior order* will be believed

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lieved by no one, who has paid any attention to the objects of their choice, and who muſt, of courſe, have obſerved, that that choice does not unfrequently fall upon *bankrupts, ſwindlers, quacks, paraſites, panders, atheiſts, apoſtates*, in a word, upon the moſt infamous and the moſt deſpicable of the human race; wretches whom no prudent tradeſman would truſt alone in his ſhop, and with whom any honeſt man would bluſh to be ſeen in converſation.

How happens it, my countrymen, that the people of America, for inſtance, are induced to commit their property and their lives to the guardianſhip of the refuſe of the community? The Americans are, generally ſpeaking, deſcended from the ſame anceſtors with yourſelves; they are by no means inferior to you in point of diſcernment; and their love of liberty, property, and life, is equal to your's. I will tell you the cauſe of their prepoſterous choice. The maſs of the people, of all nations, are ſo fond of nothing as of *power*. Men of ſenſe know, that the people can, in reality, exerciſe no power which will not tend to their own injury; and, therefore, if they are honeſt men, as well as men of ſenſe, they ſcorn to foſter their vanity at the expence of their peace and happineſs. Hence it is, that, in States, where the popular voice is unchecked by a royal or any other hereditary controul, that voice is, nine times out of ten, given in favour of thoſe fawning paraſites, who, in order to gratify their own intereſt and ambition, profeſs to acknowledge no ſovereignty but that of the people, and who, when they once get into power, rule the poor ſovereign, that has choſen them, with a rod of ſcorpions, affecting, while the miſerable wretch is writhing under their ſtripes, to call themſelves his "*repreſentatives!*"

Of all the tyrannies, that the devil or man ever invented, the tyranny of an elective aſſembly, uncontrouled by regal power, is the moſt inſupportable. When

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When the tyrant is an individual, the ſlaves have the ſatisfaction of knowing their oppreſſor; they have the conſolation of hearing him execrated, and, amidſt their miſeries, they are now and then cheered with the hope, that ſome valiant hand will bear a dagger to his heart. But, an uncontrouled elective aſſembly is an undefinable, an inviſible, and an invulnerable monſter; it inſinuates like the plague, or ſtrikes like the apoplexy; it is as capricious as cruel, and as ravenous as death; like death, too, it loſes half its terrors by the frequent repetition of its ravages, and, ſuch is its deluſive influence, that every man, though he daily ſees his neighbours falling a ſacrifice to the ſcourge, vainly imagines it to be at a diſtance from himſelf.

Now, for proof of what I have here advanced, let us appeal to Mr. Griffiths.—Pray, Sir, give us an account of the legiſlature of New Jerſey.

Mr. Griffiths.—(p. 109.)—"The *legiſlative* body being alſo *a ſupreme court of judicature*, before which the execution of the laws are cognizable by *appeal* or allegation of error, in all caſes whatſoever, it is evident, that by virtue of this ſuperintending and controuling juriſdiction over the *executive*, it indirectly moulds and faſhions the laws at pleaſure, and no check exiſts whereby to preſerve the conſtitution. In addition to this *judicial* controul over the laws, the *legiſlative* has the *nomination* and *appointment* of the *executive* officers, its power over the conſtitution and liberties of the people become more direct, inaſmuch as theſe officers, owing their creation to the legiſlative, will, in all probability, act as under its direction; but in addition to the appointment of theſe executive officers, the legiſlative body poſſeſſes the power of *diſplacing them at its pleaſure*, either by diſmiſſal, election of others, or depriving them of compenſation; it is perfectly clear, that in ſuch caſes the *executive* is but a mere puppet in the hands

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hands of the legiſlative; it muſt act and ſpeak juſt as it is bidden; ſo that the difference between a deſpotic legiſlature, and one which only *ſeems* to be checked by an executive, but in reality has the executive under complete *controul*, is nothing; it would be better that this pageant of an executive did not exiſt; it only ſerves by its compliances to diſguiſe the arbitrary views of the legiſlative, and to give a ſanction to conduct, which if offered immediately to the people without an apparent *legal* ſanction, would rouſe them to a redreſs of grievances. By the *conſtitution* of the *ſtate of New Jerſey*, it is declared, that "*trial by jury*" ſhall be holden inviolate, &c. Let us ſuppoſe that the *legiſlative* body is deſirous of trying queſtions of *fact* itſelf, and actually hears a cauſe upon the *execution* of a *will*, and they paſs a *law* that the will is *valid*, or *otherwiſe*; the party againſt whom the law is paſſed diſregards it, becauſe he apprehends that whether it is a will or no will, he can only be tried according to the conſtitution, by a *court and jury*, in the due *courſe of the common law*; and upon this preſumption he brings his action of *ejectment* againſt the party, who holds under the *legiſlative* judgment, or law; now if the executive branch (of which the judiciary is a part) is *appointed* by the legiſlature; is *removable* by the legiſlature; or *depends* for their ſubſiſtence on the legiſlature; it is ninety-nine chances to one that the *Judges* (who as I before obſerved are executive officers) will be inclined to ſupport the act of the legiſlative body for very obvious reaſons, and in this caſe what becomes of the conſtitution? But ſuppoſe that theſe Judges ſhould have virtue and independence enough to riſk their commiſſions and encounter beggary, by declaring the law unconſtitutional, and directing the *jury* to try the queſtion; the party may ſtill appeal, as the *conſtitution* ſtands, to the *legiſlative*, againſt this trial; and judging upon its

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its own law, will not the conſtitution be unqueſtionably violated?

"Our whole conſtitution is a mere *bubble*, as far as reſpects any *reſtraint* upon *legiſlative* encroachment. The intent and meaning of all conſtitutions is, to *define* the powers granted, and prevent any department from exceeding thoſe powers, or exerciſing others not granted; but if the people aſſign to that department which *makes* laws, the right of *judging* whether they are conformable to the limitations of the conſtitutional inſtrument, is it not evident, that there is no barrier provided againſt infractions, whenever the law-makers *chooſe* to enact a law coutrary to the letter or ſpirit of the charter? for in the very act of *paſſing it*, they *adjudge* upon its validity. Our *court of errors* then, as to all conſtitutional queſtions, *prejudge* them by aſſenting to the law; and they muſt arraign their *own* conduct, in pronouncing it contrary to the conſtitution; it is, in fact, making a judge in his own cauſe; it is ſaying you are to keep yourſelves within ſuch and ſuch bounds, but whether you tranſgreſs or not, we, *the people*, leave to *yourſelves* to decide.

"Enough has been urged to eſtabliſh the poſition, that the legiſlative and executive ought to be in ſeparate departments; and that a coalition of them in the ſame hands, whether of a ſingle perſon or of many, is to introduce confuſion, oppreſſion and ſubverſion of civil liberty. Very little need be ſaid to prove, that in New Jerſey there is no ſeparation. No eſſential power is left in the hands of an executive. The *joint-meeting*, as it is called, of the legiſlature, poſſeſs the only conſiderable branch of executive duty and reſponſibility, that of nominating and appointing to all the offices of any importance, civil and military, judicial and miniſterial. The legiſlature, not only fill the offices neceſſary to carry into execution the laws, but they have ſecured to them-

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themſelves their final interpretation, by poſſeſſing a reviſing and annulling juriſdiction, as a court of appeal, over all the courts of law. Their indirect controul conſiſts in the frequency of theſe appointments, and in the abſolute dependence of the officers of the judiciary upon them for annual ſubſiſtence. The conſequences ariſing from this irregular diſtribution of power, are ſuch as might be expected. It would be endleſs to enumerate the grievances, which have grown out of the abſorption of powers in the legiſlature; ſome of them are of ſuch magnitude, as to threaten the deſtruction of all public virtue and all private ſecurity. Thoſe of a more ſerious aſpect, might ſeem to call for a particular inveſtigation; and it is to be hoped, that the people, who are deeply intereſted in the redreſs of diſorders ſo fatal to their intereſt and repoſe, will at length be rouſed from their apathy, and ſet about amendments of the Conſtitution without delay.

"One of the moſt threatening effects of the connection of the legiſlative and executive in the *ſame* body, is its apparent tendency to *corrupt* the Legiſlature.

"Corruption conſiſts, in whatever produces a voluntary deviation from duty. Whatever bribes the minds of individuals, whether acting in a private or public character, from the paths of diſintereſted and upright conduct, is corruption. It makes no eſſential difference in the *motive*, and none at all in the *conſequence* of the action, whether a Member of the Legiſlature is wrought upon to aſſent to an improper law or appointment, for a *ſum of money*, or to ſecure to himſelf thereby ſome poſt or advantage for himſelf or others. The laws have provided againſt *pecuniary* corruption; it is not therefore dangerous nor common: but I appeal to every man familiar with legiſlative proceedings, whether, from the temptations which ariſe out of the executive powers of

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of the Legiſlature, to appoint to offices, and to appoint their own Members, *a ſyſtem of cabal, intrigue, and barter, has not been eſtabliſhed, which in its complexion and effects, is as truly deſtructive of the virtue and diſintereſtedneſs of that aſſembly, as any monied influence could be.* An aſſembly which ſhould be diveſted of all paſſions and motives, but thoſe which are properly legiſlative, is by the circumſtance of poſſeſſing a branch of the *executive* duty, detached from its great and peculiar employments, and diſtorted by all the rivalſhips, contentions, and ſchemes of intrigue, which ever convulſe and diſgrace numerous electoral bodies.

" *Firſt.* By placing the power of filling the offices of Government in the Legiſlature, and permitting the choice from their own body, a temptation of the moſt direct kind is offered to their virtue; offices will be erected for no other purpoſe, but to gratify the expectations or promote the private ends of popular and ambitious leaders in the aſſembly

" *Second.* But the moſt pernicious effect of this executive power in the Legiſlature, is ſeen in the intrigues and party purpoſes, which it promotes and cheriſhes in a body, that ought to be free from every local and every intereſted conſideration.

" It is impracticable here to enter into a detail of facts to prove, that the virtue of the Legiſlature has been, and will be conſtantly aſſailed and overcome, by committing it to the nomination and appointment of the executive officers. It ſhews itſelf in the very formation of the Legiſlature. No ſooner does an election for a legiſlative aſſembly and council approach, than the queſtion is not, who are the wiſeſt and moſt diſintereſted, and of moſt integrity; but who will beſt anſwer the views of *party*, of private ambition, or perſonal reſentment. In every county there is conſtantly a ſucceſſion of people aſpiring to appointments,

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appointments, civil or military: some desire to be judges, some justices, some majors, and some colonels; some have interests depending in the courts of law, and some, perhaps, have resentments against existing officers, and would fain oust them from their seats: all these, and a thousand more passions, are set to work; and nominations to the Legislature are directed and supported upon principles altogether beside those, which should form the basis for a right election of legislative characters: the result must, of course, be unfavourable to the public good. But this is not all; not only are elections rendered vicious, and the morals of the *people* corrupted in these struggles for personal advantages, but unhappily the *candidates* partake of the contamination: they must promise allegiance to their party; *you shall be a judge*, and *you a justice; you a major*, and *you a colonel; you a clerk*, and *you a commissioner; I will solicit your cause in the Court of Errors, and will vote for your friend to fill a seat in the Judiciary*. If these kind of illicit engagements are not publicly or directly entered into, they are sufficiently understood and guaranteed by the friends of the candidate, who take a leading part in his election. Thus the executive authorities, confided to an annual Legislature, lay the foundation of corruption at the threshold of its election: instead of being elected with a national view, and for the purpose of forming general laws, for the more equal and salutary government of the people, the persons go there to represent the interests and gratify the desires of a few partisans in their different districts, *upon the performance of which will depend their reappointment at the ensuing election!*

"When the Legislature is *formed*, and a joint-meeting agreed upon, then begins a scene of *intrigue*, of *canvassing* and *finesse*, which baffles all description, and is too notorious to require proof, and *too disgusting for exhibition*. The members of a county, in which

which an office is to be diſpoſed of, are beſet by friends and partiſans of the candidates; their hopes and fears are excited, by all the arts which can be ſuggeſted to influence their choice; from theſe, the attack extends itſelf, till it reaches every Member of the Legiſlature; and ſo ſtrong and ſo general does the conteſt become, by the different repreſentations, having each particular objects to attain, that *one grand ſcene of canvaſs and barter enſues:* a vote for one, is made the condition of voting for another, without regard to qualifications; *even laws which are to affect the public intereſt, are made the price of theſe intereſted conceſſions;* and not unfrequently is almoſt the whole ſitting of the Legiſlature ſpent in adjuſting the pretenſions, and marſhalling the ſtrength of the reſpective candidates for office. To ſuch a pitch has this grown, that even the Members of the Legiſlature complain of it, as an intolerable evil. Theſe conteſts again lay the foundation for new parties and new reſentments at the next election. To counteract the oppoſition which may be ſtirred up, all the appointments will be made, with a view to ſtrengthen the intereſt of the ſitting Members. New commiſſions, civil and military, judges and juſtices, general officers, general-ſtaff and field-officers, will be made with a reference to the ſtate of parties in the county, inſtead of being dictated by a quite contrary ſpirit. It is within the knowledge of thoſe converſant in the courts of law, that in the counties, many of them are become *mere political clubs.* They take ſides; and a man, before he brings on his cauſe, *counts heads.*

"The reſult of all this, is ſeen and felt in every quarter. From hence proceed the jars and diviſions *which deſtroy the pleaſure of ſocial life in every neighbourhood and village;* and from hence ariſes the inſtability of laws, the multiplication of magiſtrates, the weakneſs and diviſion of the courts of juſtice, the

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the heats and ill-directed zeal at elections, and that general languor and dereliction of principle in every department, which menaces the total depravation of the body politic.

" Nothing can be more neceſſary to the uſefulneſs of this branch of the Government, than to remove from its Conſtitution, every thing that might have a tendency to diſturb its compoſure, or taint its virtue. But, alas! what more fatal ſource of diſquiet and corruption could have been deviſed, than that of placing in the *legiſlative* department, the promiſcuous election of the executive officers of Government. I here again ſpeak of facts. Do we not all know that this aſſembly, which ſhould be the ſeat of moderation, which ſhould know no other ſtrife than that of zeal for the commonwealth, and feel no paſſion but that of patriotiſm; I ſay, do we not conſtantly behold this aſſembly divided into parties, and agitated with all the paſſions and prejudices of popular ſuffrage? Do we not obſerve, that theſe oppoſitions extend themſelves beyond the hall of the aſſembly? They expire not with the occaſion, but are carried back to their conſtituents, and lay the foundations of diſtruſt and animoſity, diviſions and jealouſies in every corner of the ſtate, and in every department of its public concerns.

" The body politic indeed exiſts; it has life, but it languiſhes to death; every limb and every member exhibit no other ſigns of animation, than thoſe convulſive movements which indicate the approaches of diſſolution. It is ſurpriſing that men ſhould yet labour under the infatuation of effecting a cure by legiſlative aids; it is not poſſible for the Legiſlature ever to heal itſelf; the Conſtitution has entailed on every department incurable maladies; not but a reviſion of it can give vigor, and reſtore to uſefulneſs that maſs of power, which now ſerves only to oppreſs, degrade and impoveriſh a people, deſerving, and

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and capable of attaining, the greateſt heights of political happineſs."

PORCUPINE.—Such, Engliſhmen, ſuch are the conſequences of Republican Government and Written Conſtitutions. The ambitious knaves, who flatter you with high notions of your rights and privileges, who are everlaſtingly driving in your ears the bleſſings of what they call the "elective *franchiſe*" wiſh to add to the number of Electors, becauſe they well know that *they* would thereby gain an acceſſion of ſtrength. The only object that ſuch men have in view, is the gratification of their own ambition, at the public expence; and, to accompliſh this object, they ſtand in need of *your* aſſiſtance. There is a continual ſtruggle between them and the legitimate ſovereignty of the country, which reſtrains them from pillaging, oppreſſing, and inſulting the people. Hence it is, that they are continually endeavouring to perſuade the people, that that ſovereignty requires to be checked and controuled; in which nefarious endeavours, they are, unfortunately, but too often ſucceſsful. How they would act, were they once to engroſs the whole power of the ſtate, you may eaſily perceive from what has been diſcloſed to you reſpecting the Legiſlature of an American Republic. If you imagine, that *you* ſhould be able to avoid the evils, which, from this ſource, the Americans have experienced, you deceive yourſelves moſt groſsly. They are as fond of freedom as you are, and they want no information that you poſſeſs; but, having been too jealous of the Royal authority, having lent their ear, and next their hand, to thoſe demagogues who perſuaded them that they were capable of governing themſelves, they deſtroyed the only ſafe-guard of that liberty, for which they thought they were fighting, and the want of which they now ſo ſenſibly feel and ſo deeply deplore.

"Stick

"Stick to the *Crown*, though you find it hanging on a buſh," was the precept which a good old Engliſhman gave to his ſons, at a time when the Monarchy was threatened with that ſubverſion, which it afterwards experienced, and which was attended with the perpetration of a deed that has fixed an indelible ſtain on the annals of England. Bleſſed be GOD, we are threatened with no ſuch danger at preſent; but a repetition of the precept can never be out of ſeaſon, as long as there are Whigs in exiſtence, and as long as there are men fooliſh enough to liſten to their inſidious harangues. The Crown is the guardian of the nation, but more eſpecially is its guardianſhip neceſſary to thoſe who are deſtitute of rank and of wealth. The King gives the weakeſt and pooreſt of us ſome degree of conſequence; as his ſubjects, we are upon a level with the noble and the rich; in yielding him obedience, veneration and love, neither obſcurity nor penury can repreſs our deſires, or leſſen the pleaſure that we feel in return; he is the fountain of national honour, which, like the ſun, is no reſpecter of perſons, but ſmiles with equal warmth on the palace and the cottage; in his juſtice, his magnanimity, his piety, in the wiſdom of his councils, in the ſplendour of his throne, in the glory of his arms, in all his virtues and in all his honours, we ſhare, not according to rank or to riches, but in proportion to the love that we bear to the land which gave us birth, and which contains the aſhes of our fathers.

END OF THE TRIAL OF REPUBLICANISM.

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Postscript.—To the Public.

On Monday laſt a Copy of the following Advertiſement was ſent to the Office of *The Morning Chronicle*, with Directions for it to be inſerted in that Paper of the next Day.

This Day is publiſhed, Price 2s.

THE TRIAL of REPUBLICANISM; or, a Series of Political Papers, proving the injurious and debaſing Conſequences of Republican Government and Written Constitutions. With an Introductory Addreſs to the Hon. Thomas Erſkine.

BY PETER PORCUPINE.

Printed for Cobbett and Morgan, at the Crown and Mitre, Pall Mall.

The Clerk at the *Chronicle Office* took in the advertiſement, and received the ſix ſhillings for its inſertion. But he had not, it ſeems, been admitted into the more ſublime arcana of the office; for the advertiſement was kept out of the paper, and upon inquiry, made by my direction, into the cauſe of the excluſion, the Clerk ſaid *he was not authorized to ſtate the cauſe, but was ready to return the ſix ſhillings.*

Another circumſtance, of a ſimilar nature, will tend to explain the motives of the Proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle*, whoſe name, I am told, is Perry. It was this: When I publiſhed the Proſpectus of the Porcupine, I ſent it to ſeveral papers for inſertion; amongſt the reſt, to the *Morning Chronicle*, from the Office of which I received it back the next day, accompanied with information, that Mr. Perry would not ſuffer it to be inſerted unleſs I would leave out a certain part, which he had marked with his pen. The *exceptionable* part was that, wherein I ſpeak of *the fatal effects of* rebellion againſt Monarchy, *and of the degrading conſequences of* republicanism. This fact ſtrongly corroborates the preſumption, that the advertiſement of the pamphlet was excluded only

becauſe

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becauſe it notified the appearance of ſomething, which was intended to prove " *the injurious and debaſing conſequences of Republican Government and Written Conſtitutions.*"

The conduct of this paltry Printer I ſhould have treated with ſilent contempt, were it not a clear indication of the ſpirit and partialities of thoſe, by whom his Publication is ſupported. Theſe men are wont, on all occaſions, to dwell with rapture on " that ineſtimable bleſſing, *the Liberty of the Preſs*;" but, if you attempt to make uſe of that Preſs for the purpoſe of counteracting the effects of their falſehoods and miſrepreſentations, they inſtantly have recourſe to what they regard as the moſt effectual means of vengeance, or of ſuppreſſion, This has been uniformly their conduct, from the reign of Charles I. to the preſent hour.

Of *loyalty*, too, they are ever full of profeſſions; but, if you inculcate veneration and love for the King, and a cheerful obedience to his commands; if you endeavour to ſhow the ſuperior excellence of Monarchical Government, to expoſe the vices of Republicaniſm, or to excite a horror of the crime of rebellion; then you perceive, that all their loyal profeſſions are but a mere palliative of their diſloyalty, extorted from them by the known, and as yet unperverted, ſenſe and diſpoſition of the people at large.

Many and fooliſh enough are the paragraphs, pamphlets, books, and harangues, in which I have ſeen high wrought eulogiums on the Republican Governments of the American States. I have been in that political paradiſe. I have not galloped over the ſurface, like WELD; nor have I, like BRISSOT, been led from one parterre to another by an officious philanthropiſt. I have dived into the earth, I have examined the ſoil, ſtratum by ſtratum, I have traced the divers plants from the loweſt fibre to the topmoſt leaf, I have ſeen them bloſſom and bear, and I have taſted the fruit. I have witneſſed " the

" injurious

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" injurious and debaſing conſequences of Republican " Government and Written Conſtitutions," and, in the pamphlet, which the *Morning Chronicle* refuſes to adverti ſe, I have clearly expoſed ſome few of them to the world.

I am aware of the prejudices I have to encounter; I can ſee the picture of WASHINGTON ſtaring this inſulted nation in the face, from the window of every printſeller in London, and from the walls of not a few of thoſe, whom one might hope to ſee ready to trample rebellion under foot; I know that ſucceſs on one ſide, and mercantile avarice on the other, have covered the fouleſt of crimes with the faireſt of veils; and I am fully aware, that there are many men in this kingdom, who, though now firm friends to the Monarchy and the King, never wiſh to hear a leſſon drawn from the woeful experience of America, leſt it ſhould remind the world of the fooliſh part which *they* acted in the rupture that gave her her fatal independence; but not any, nor all, of theſe conſiderations will deter me from the purſuit of that object, which I have long had in view, and in the accompliſhment of which, if I ſhould be ſo happy as to ſucceed, I ſhall think a life of labour amply rewarded. Neither coldneſs, neglect, reproach, nor perſecution, will diſhearten me.—I ſhall never want the will to proceed, and induſtry and œconomy will furniſh me with the means.—My progreſs will be ſlow, but it will be ſure.—By continual dropping water will wear away the hardeſt marble; and who has not heard that the patient nibblings of the mouſe once releaſed the royal lyon from his toils?

WM. COBBETT.

Pall Mall, 30th April, 1801.

Printed by T. RICKABY, Peterborough-court, Fleet-street.

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